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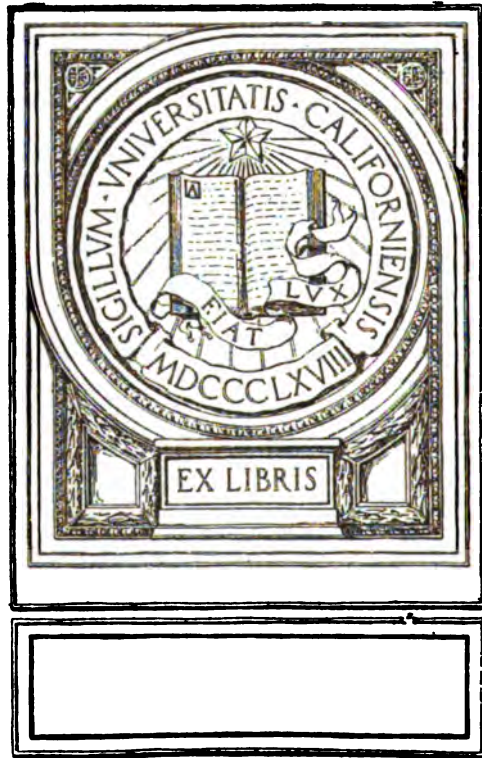
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- No. 3. Early Indiana Trails and Surveys. By George R. Wilson.
- No. 4. Minutes of the Society, 1886-1918.

EXCHANGE
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INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME VI

NUMBER 1

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Tenth Annual Meeting
OF THE
Ohio Valley Historical
Association

HELD AT
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
OCTOBER 4 AND 5, 1916 - 17

IN CONNECTION WITH
INDIANA STATE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

EDITED BY
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EXCHANGE

FOREWORD

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its tenth annual meeting at Indianapolis, Wednesday and Thursday, October 4 and 5, 1916, upon the joint invitation of the Indiana Historical Commission and the Indiana Historical Society. This meeting of the Association was featured as one of the events in the program of the Indiana State Centennial celebration.

Following the plan of the Association in arranging the program around a general topic, the program of the meeting was devoted largely to the discussion of subjects dealing with Indiana and the region of which Indiana is a part.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that every number on the program was presented and for the first time in the history of the Association a full report of all papers is given in the Proceedings.

The Indiana Historical Commission gave a reception to the members of the Association following the address of Mr. Ford on Wednesday evening, and the Association as a body were guests of the local committee at the presentation of the Pageant of Indiana, Thursday afternoon at four o'clock. The annual dinner of the Association occurred Thursday evening.

H. L.

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OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- First meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1907.
- Second meeting, Marietta, Ohio, 1908.
- Third meeting, Frankfort, Ky., 1909.
- Fourth meeting, Indianapolis, Ind., 1910.
- Fifth meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1911.
- Sixth meeting, Oxford, Ohio, 1912.
- Seventh meeting, Lexington, Ky., 1913.
- Eighth meeting, Charleston, W. Va., 1914.
- Ninth meeting, Columbus, Ohio, 1915.
- Tenth meeting, Indianapolis, Ind., 1916.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT—

Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—

Prof. J. R. Robertson, Berea College, Berea, Ky.
Mr. B. S. Patterson, Secretary Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Prof. W. H. Siebert, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
Prof. C. L. Martzoff, Ohio University, Athens, O.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND TREASURER—

Prof. D. C. Shilling, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.

RECORDING SECRETARY AND CURATOR—

Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for
Women, Oxford, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—

The officers of the Association.

The former Presidents.

Elected by the Association: Samuel M. Wilson,
Dr. H. S. Green.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE—

Harlow Lindley, J. A. Woodburn, I. J. Cox.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE—

James A. Woodburn, Charity Dye, Walter C. Wood-
ward, Harlow Lindley.

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS—

John W. Oliver, George S. Cottman, C. B. Coleman,
Miss Lucy M. Elliott.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—

Frank P. Goodwin, Woodward High School, Cin-
cinnati, Ohio.

W. H. Bartholomew, Girls' High School, Louisville,
Kentucky.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—

I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; Henry W.
Temple, Washington, Pa.; Harlow Lindley, Rich-
mond, Ind.; Marie P. Dickore, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PROGRAM

FIRST SESSION

Wednesday, October 4, 2:30 P. M.

HARLOW LINDLEY, Presiding

Address of Welcome—

For the State, and Indiana Historical Commission—

Governor Samuel M. Ralston

For the Indiana Historical Society—

Judge Daniel Wait Howe

President's Address -----Harlow Lindley

Speculation in the Thirties-----

Prof. R. C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati

"The New Purchase" -----

Prof. James A. Woodburn, Indiana University

SECOND SESSION

Wednesday Evening, October 4, 8 o'clock

I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, Presiding

Address, "A Lost Opportunity: Internal Improvements"

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, First Vice-President

American Historical Association, Boston, Mass.

Reception given by the Indiana Historical Commission.

THIRD SESSION.

Thursday, October 5, 9:30 A. M.

J. P. DUNN, Secretary Indiana Historical Society, Presiding.
 Kentucky's Contribution to Indiana -----

Prof. James R. Robertson, Berea College, Berea, Ky.
 Organizing a State -----

Dr. Logan Esarey, Editor Indiana Magazine of History
 Early Railroad Building in Indiana -----

Mr. Ralph Blank, Indiana University
 Civil War Politics in Indiana -----

Dr. Charles Kettleborough, Indiana Bureau of Legis-
 lative Information.

FOURTH SESSION

Thursday, October 5, 1:30 P. M.

W. H. SIEBERT, Ohio State University, Presiding
 Address, "Personal Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine"--
 Ex-Governor William A. MacCorkle, of West Virginia
 Reports of Committees and Election of Officers.
 4 P. M. The Pageant of Indiana, Riverside Park.

FIFTH SESSION

Thursday Evening, October 5

7:30 P. M.—Annual Dinner of the Ohio Valley Historical
 Association.

Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati, Ohio, pre-
 siding.

8:30 P. M.—Address, "A Hoosier Domesday,"
 Professor Frederic L. Paxson, University
 of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6

County Day of the Indiana State Centennial Celebration

10:00 A. M.—Processional Pageant of the Counties, each representing by float or otherwise some leading feature of its life or history. The procession is to be headed by the Centennial Cavalcade of ninety-two ladies on horses, representing the counties, led by Miss Indiana.

4:00 P. M.—The Pageant of Indiana, Riverside Park

8:00 P. M.—County Rally held at the State Fair Coliseum
Special Musical Program
Address by ex-President William Howard Taft

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

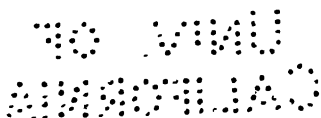
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 2:30 P. M.

The first session of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held in the Riley Room of the Claypool Hotel. Prof. Harlow Lindley, the President of the Association, introduced Dr. Frank B. Wynn, of Indianapolis, who as Vice-President of the Indiana Historical Commission, represented Governor Ralston, who was unable to be present. Dr. Wynn spoke of the work of the Commission in arousing an interest, not in the present prosperity, or the material resources of the State, but in its history. This interest in and reverence for the past was awakened by the pageants and celebrations held in the various colleges, universities and communities throughout the State. These celebrations had emphasized the courage, the ambition, the patriotism, the simplicity of the life in earlier days. It was worth while, he thought, to get inspiration from the best actions and lives of the past. He was glad to have the Association hold its meeting in Indianapolis and welcomed it to the city,—the most democratic of any large city in the country—and to Indiana, a great Commonwealth.

Judge Daniel Wait Howe, President, in extending a welcome for the Indiana Historical Society, said:

LADIES and GENTLEMEN:

To me has been assigned the honor and the pleasure of extending, in behalf of the Indiana Historical Society, a



friendly welcome to the members of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. My address will be brief but it will be as expressive of welcome as I know how to make it.

It is gratifying to know that in the midst of the carnage and havoc that war is now making in other lands, in the midst of a heated political campaign, some men, even though they may be few in number, can be found willing to spare a brief time in commemorating the memory and achievements of the pioneers of the Ohio valley. Their descendants cannot boast of a recorded history going back through many centuries, of ivy-covered castles, of ancient monuments, of family coats-of-arms, of world renowned galleries of art, of time-honored institutions of learning. Nevertheless, we are sure, that if our recorded history does not go back two thousand years, no country can show greater progress in the first two hundred years of its existence than that which has been made in the Ohio valley.

Nor is our recorded history, short as it may be, destitute of historic value or romantic interest. For the bold La-Salle traversed this region and through it marched Pontiac and his warriors. In it the great Miami Confederacy once flourished, and it was often the battle ground between the Miamis and the fierce Iroquois of the East. In it were fought the greatest battles ever fought in America between the Pale faces and the Red men. In it was achieved one of the most important, though bloodless, victories of the American Revolution, the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark, on which was based our claim to the entire Northwest territory. In it was established by the Ordinance of 1787 the first boundary line marking the limits beyond which slavery could not go, resulting ultimately in making this land all free instead of all slave.

It has been said of some warriors famous for their con-

quests and carnage that they "made a solitude and called it peace." The early white settlers of the Ohio valley did not make a solitude but they found one—a vast domain stretching from the Mississippi on the west to the Alleghanies on the east and from the Great Lakes on the north to the beautiful Ohio and its tributaries on the south, a region having the extent and the natural resources of a mighty empire. Around it and running through it were large and beautiful lakes and rivers. Its soil was of unexampled fertility and underneath it were marvelous stores of mineral wealth. Nature had done her full part for this wonderful region but man had done little or nothing. It was still a solitude of impenetrable swamps and dense forests filled with savage beasts and savage men. Over this territory roamed bands of red men and here and there they had scattered villages. Occasionally there could be seen the smoke ascending from the cabin of some lonely white hunter and upon the streams there could be seen the canoe of some half-breed trapper or trader. Everywhere stillness reigned, broken only by the Indian war-whoop or the howl of wild beasts. Nowhere was heard the hum of human industry. But wherever the early white settlers went they and their descendants wrought a transformation more wonderful than anything of which Aladdin might have dreamed, for they touched the land as with the wand of a magician. They hewed homes out of the wilderness; they converted forests and swamps into beautiful fields and charming landscapes; they built churches and school houses; they began villages and towns that afterwards grew into great cities; they laid deep and strong the foundations of republican government. Indeed it may well be said of the pioneer as was said in the epitaph of Thomas Wren, the architect who designed Westminster Abbey and

whose body is buried there: "If you would see his monument, look around."

The men who settled this region were of the best blood of America, the cream of New England, of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, and the Carolinas. They were men of wonderful endurance and of unflinching courage. Men like Daniel Boone and the famous hunters of Kentucky and men like those who fought with General Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe were men who might have stood with Leonidas at Thermopylae or with the Old Guard at Waterloo or with Cromwell at Marston Moor. They were not only brave but, in the main, they were honest, industrious, frugal, hospitable, God-fearing and liberty-loving men. Never were men better fitted to establish in the wilderness a republican government. When General Rufus Putnam and his little New England colony settled Marietta, Ohio, they took with them a man who was both preacher and teacher and, after building a stockade as a protection against the Indians, the next building they erected was a meeting house for a church and school house. They had no printing press and so they wrote out a brief code of laws and nailed it to the trunk of a sycamore tree on the banks of the Muskingum, thus grasping the essentials of republican government, education, morality, and respect for law and order.

During the American Civil War the states of the Ohio valley were, and they always will be, the mainstay of this Union for they must have free passage over the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth and they must have free access to the Gulf of Mexico, to the Great Lakes and to the Atlantic ocean. Before the Civil War, John A. Logan said that the men of the Northwest would keep open the mouth of the Mississippi if they had to hew their way with

their swords to the Gulf of Mexico. They would be as ready, if necessary to reach the Atlantic, to hew their way with their swords to the shores of the Massachusetts Bay.

I congratulate you that you are holding your present session in the very heart of the Ohio valley and at a time when all Indiana is holding meetings, celebrations and pageants showing the progress that has been made in the first one hundred years of its existence as a state; in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, in education, in literature, in the arts and sciences, in all that makes for the betterment of mankind and that has made Indiana leap from a wilderness into the position of a great commonwealth, now standing in the front rank of states.

In this hospitable region in olden times the latch string was always out. It is still out as an emblem of welcome to all our visiting friends. I trust that your short stay in Indianapolis may be as pleasant to you as I am sure it will be to us. We shall not do much talking ourselves because we want to hear *you* talk.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

PROFESSOR HARLOW LINDLEY, EARLHAM COLLEGE,
RICHMOND, INDIANA

While your President feels that he is more nearly in a place to extend a word of welcome than to respond to words of welcome, yet on behalf of the Ohio Valley Historical Association which I now have the honor to represent both as its President and only Hoosier member¹ I beg to express our gratification at the gracious words of welcome accorded us by the representatives of the two his-

¹Eight Indiana members were added at this meeting.

torical agencies of Indiana who united in inviting us to meet here at this time.

To me it seems very fitting that this Association embracing for its field of activity the Ohio Valley should meet here at this time in connection with the celebration of the first one hundred years of statehood of Indiana, a very large part of which is part of the Ohio Valley.

This is the tenth annual meeting of the Association which was organized in Cincinnati in 1907. Meetings have been held in Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio and one meeting was held here jointly with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association in 1910. But this year we come the farthest north and west we have ever come for a meeting of our own to join with the Hoosier state in celebrating her centennial and to assist in investigating and preserving for the future some of her history.

The true history of a people is never written. The biographies of great men are but pleasant or startling fictions. A plain but eager boy, country born and country bred, acquires a thirst for knowledge. He reads books, questions nature, studies in the schools; then dares fate in some public career. He wins success because he is industrious, patient, hopeful. He knows himself to be a man with many faults and abundant weaknesses. But presently some fellow-man writes the story of his life and he is surprised to find himself a demigod. The real man has lived and toiled, been wise at times and given to folly as other men. He has played, slept, thought, been vain or humble, and really dwelt in a very small space. But renewed in history, under the strong light of genius, he stands a-tip-toe on the mountains with the aurora in his face and his breath fills the universe. The historical man is a great savage

like Attila, a destroyer like King Cambyses, or a philosopher like Plato. Through the lapse of ages we see only this historical man. He stands on the pages of history for the age, the race, the civilization or savagery from which he sprang. How much of him is real and how much the shining figment of subsidiary genius no man can tell. Was Hamlet a crazy man at large, as told in Danish legends, or was he the sombre genius immortalized by Shakespeare? Judged by modern standards Achilles and Ulysses, Agamemnon and Paris were but a lot of superstitious savages who waged insane and merciless war for a trivial cause. But when Homer associates them with the gods and makes them converse in the heat of battle with all the wisdom of Greek culture and philosophy they take their places as fixed stars in the constellations of history. He who conceived the idea of Adam talking with God in the cool of the day, had the thought which carries us all back to that remote point in history in which we see no individual man. There man blends either with the shadows that obscure, or melts into the light that is perfect. The pride of history has always chosen the latter. The nearer we approach the beginning the more prominent becomes the individual hero or prophet. Science says that shadows emerging from the surrounding darkness are many times multiplied in bulk, by the doubtful light. But the poetry of tradition maintains that the primal man fresh from the source and center of things, was more than half divine. Even the lapse of a century serves to obscure the frailties of a great man and lift his virtues to the clouds. The politicians and pamphleteers of Washington's day assailed him with bitterness on the one hand or recognized his need of defense on the other. It is in the memory of thousands yet living that Lincoln was appraised by his friends as a well-meaning

buffoon, while his enemies regarded him as a buffoon bent on mischief. The estimate was false but in its place we have today the ideal gentleman of the churches and of the schools of ethics, either character being as far from the real homely, hearty, common-sensed devoted Lincoln as ever General George H. Thomas was from the supposed paternal interest that gave him the nickname of "Old Pap." But after deprecating the historical man, the fact remains that, given the time, the conditions and the occasion, he was and is their representative,—perhaps not always the best representative that might have been, but always such as the supreme forces of his time and country produced. The French Revolution was begotten of an earnest longing for liberty. Its immediate outcome was Robespierre and anarchy, because it was controlled by the passion of the outside rather than the conviction of its soul: the haste of the mob rather than the prudence of the thinker. But he is not yet born who shall record the true story of that mighty convulsion in its larger influence upon the destinies of man. Cortez has been almost deified in Prescott's splendid fiction that he mis-named a history, and yet through all the glamour of romance the merciless fortune hunter stands out as the representative of Spanish cruelty and heartlessness. Given the story of Cortez and the Mexican invasion, the mind sees at once and comprehends the Spain of the seventeenth century; its fierce thirst after gold, its spirit of adventure, its frenzies of cruelty and its mad rage for power. The naturalist finds a shell imbedded in the rock, a fossil sea-weed and a remnant of coral, and straightway there expands before his vision an ancient ocean with low-lying shores. The sea swarms with life; the waves grind up the cast-off shells, transmuting them into sediment and strata which harden into stone and hold

fast the history of an epoch forever. In like manner a very few events,—even fragments of events; a few passages in the lives of representative men and women planted in the bed rock of history renew forever the age, the race, the people, the condition of their day and time. Let us step backward a century and behold the cabin builders of our western civilization. They were men of humble origin. They knew a little and were eager that their children should know more. They possessed warm hearts, strong arms and abundant courage, but they had neither inheritance nor fame. Many of them came from a land of slaves, seeking the forest for its freedom and submitting to its privations and toils that their children might be free. Give us but one fragment from their history: "A few settlers in an Indiana neighborhood as soon as their cabins were up and roofed, the fire-places constructed and the mud and stick chimneys half way completed, deferring the matter of providing floors and filling the spaces between the logs, turned their attention to the erection of a log school house. And when the winter came the children were taught by day, the mock legislature held its sessions by night, and the backwoods preachers divided the Word on the Sabbath." From such a fragment, added to the geography of the land, one may easily and readily picture the progress that has led up to the present condition.

In the family circle about the cabin fire, in the daring faith of the pioneer father and the devotion of the pioneer mother, in the primal school houses in the woods are to be found the indexes of our history—such is our Western civilization. All the possibilities of civilization were in those rude beginnings. Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln were outgrowths of such conditions.

The beginnings of the history of a state are always prophetic of its character and ultimate destiny.

Whence came the foundations of our civilization? They were from the sea-bordered South, from the border slave states, from the mountains of Virginia, from the fertile fields of Pennsylvania, from New York and from New England. The log house in the wilderness was the sure prophesy of the best things to which we have attained. It matters not whence they came, you can detect the spirit that inspired them by the culture of the soil and the progress of the people. From the old fashioned debating clubs of those primal colleges of the people, great men arose to sway the destinies of the nation. The pioneers of Ohio and Indiana made but little noise in the world but no builders ever laid foundations of enlightened liberty more securely than they.

The log convention in Wayne County which made possible the success of Indiana's first elected governor, Jonathan Jennings, to a place as delegate to the United States Congress largely determined the political character of those eastern counties. It was a protest against the insidious approaches of African slavery, and it was successful because of its deep-seated earnestness.

Near the beginning of the century Julia Dumont in the little county of Switzerland, Indiana, laid two foundations—the one of higher education, the other that of literature. A daily toiler in the school rooms of the pioneer period,—a mighty worker by the dim lamps of the olden time she made the beginnings which have matured in our colleges and universities. Today Indiana scholarship and energy are acknowledged all over the West. They have invaded the East and enthroned themselves in great financial, educational and literary centres.

In a small but remarkable community in Southern Indiana originated the first woman's club in this country and from it have emanated forces that have resulted in the emancipation of women. All these splendid achievements have grown up from the thought that instigated the pioneer school house in the woods. It filled the ranks with 200,000 young Indiana heroes and made the name, Hoosier, a terror to those who in their blindness would have destroyed the Union and blotted out the stars of liberty forever. It is to the beginnings of our history, to the humble toils and devotion of the pioneers that we must look for the inception of that spirit which has led us forward and upward. The pioneers moved on from their first crude efforts as strength and opportunity permitted. They gave us democracy, the outstanding feature of American society. The early immigrant came with an appetite for freedom, for independence, for land and a home to call his very own. He came with some acquaintance of self government, he came with unconquerable faith, he came ready to endure. He found that for which he came. He found opportunity and plenty of room. American democracy became possible because of the great natural wealth of the continent; because of the prosperity of the people, of the standard of intelligence, the freedom of the individual in church and state. Each man was free to do as he pleased, to try new plans, to think for himself. The result was a new individual—the American; and America has a great future. She has dominated world thought. She has profoundly influenced world policies. She has become a world power. She still lures thousands from homes across the sea. She has rung the knell of monarchism and ecclesiasticism. She has insisted on the people's rights. The United States is still young. She has just about obtained her national

majority. Europe has had a thousand years and more to reach her present position. She is still bound by custom and fettered by institutions she is afraid to destroy. We have no pyramids or sphinx, neither Palmyras in the sand nor mummies in marbled fastnesses of silent cities to preserve the forms and features of a changeless past. Our monuments are the people themselves, the ever widening scope of their lives, their purposes, their powers and their results. If we may continue to approach nearer and nearer to a state in which the happiness of the least shall be sacred to the whole, then will our monuments be the most commanding and enduring and grandly beautiful on earth.

SPECULATION IN THE THIRTIES

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The era of the Thirties marks a transition period in the economic and political history of the United States. Fifteen years had elapsed since the close of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, and during this interval a vast system of manufacturing had arisen. The struggle between the government and the United States banks, and the consequent removal of deposits in 1833 produced a marked effect upon the nation; and a year later the country was fairly embarked on an era of speculation. The payment of the public debt, the increase in the number of banks throughout the land and their resulting reaction and connection with the internal improvement schemes in the different states, and the buoyant, boastful tone of America between 1830 and 1836 are well known facts. That the people of this age were engulfed in the speculative mania is undoubtedly true; and that one of the most prevalent forms of this disease was connected with the occupation and sale of the public lands in the West is established. Therefore, it will be the theme of this short paper to outline the various phases of this malady as it affected particularly the West and Western land sales; the efforts of the administration to curb and check it; the attitude of the governmental officials and to what extent they were implicated; and the final outcome of their endeavors on the political and social life of the community.

All classes and all sections of the country were guilty of the same offense; were impelled by the same craze for speculation. The farmer, the manufacturer and the mer-

chant, instead of paying their debts, bought land and speculated in land. The conservative, careful Eastern capitalist, the reckless, easy-going Southern planter, and the wary, doubtful Western farmers joined hands in their efforts to purchase land. Villages and cities sprang up over night in every direction; lots increased at the rate of 200 and 300 per cent per year, and fortunes were made and lost in a few moments.¹ "All who had money or credit plunged headlong into the stream."² Companies were formed and through the generosity of the banks the mad rush to destruction was undeterred. The face of the country was checkered into new, well-mapped boom cities.³ "Another city has sprung into being at the West," stated the *New York Evening Post* for February 27, 1837, "bearing the musical name of the City of Winnebago in Wisconsin, the growth of the present winter." It was not stated whether it contained 50 or 100,000 inhabitants, "nor is it important", continued the paper, "provided the lots sell well."⁴ And there was no danger the lots would not sell; the American speculator in his wild race for wealth had thrown caution to the winds; and one area which afforded him great opportunities was the states of the Ohio and Mississippi basin.

This region, although much younger than either the East or the South was already becoming an important factor in the political and economic growth of the nation. In population and importance the development of the West

¹Bishop Kemper's Letter Book in Mss. in Wisc. Hist. Soc. Library. Kemper to Jonathan Camp, Feb. 12, 1836.

²Niles, Nov. 9, 1837.

³Colton, Calvin, *Life and Times of Henry Clay*, N. Y., 1846, Vol. II, p. 27.

⁴*N. Y. Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1837.

within the preceding twenty years had been startling. The states carved out of this territory possessed vast tracts of public lands which were rapidly being settled by immigrants from the East. The *Maysville Eagle* for July 25, 1833, stated the immigration for that week had averaged 200 per day; and sagely remarked that the population of the western states was fast increasing.⁵ The State of Ohio in ten years (1820-1830) multiplied in population at the rate of 408% whereas the average rate of the whole union for the past ten years was but 33%.⁶ In 1826, the wealth of manufacturing district of Cincinnati alone amounted according to an accurate statistical examination to \$1,800,000 in a population of 16,000. At that time there was not more than 15 steam engines employed in the city. But in 1836 there were upwards of 50 in successful operation, besides four or five in Newport and Covington. More than 100 steam engines, about 240 cotton gins, upwards of 20 sugar mills and 22 steam boats—many of them of the largest size—were built or manufactured in Cincinnati during the year 1835. Pittsburgh, Louisville, Nashville, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and numerous other towns strove with Cincinnati for the latter's title of the Emporium of the West.⁷ The immigration to these cities was so large that the residents had difficulty in handling the prodigious influx of the immigrants.⁸ The price of land necessarily rose during these prosperous years beyond the fondest expectation of the wildest speculator. Towns which two or three years previous contained one or two log cabins—as

⁵*Maysville Eagle*, July 25, 1833.

⁶*Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1833.

⁷Hall, James, *Statistics of the West, Cincinnati, 1836*, pp. 265, 269.

⁸*Chicago American*, June 20, 1835.

for example, Beardstown, Illinois—now numbered two or three hundred frame and brick houses.⁹ St. Louis listed 120 steamboats with a tonnage of 15,000 tons in its trade. Carpenters, brick-layers, plasterers and mechanics of every description were confident of securing work in this new Eldorado, and every steamboat brought crowds of sober and industrious immigrants.¹⁰

To provide adequate means of transportation for these new comers, the West turned her attention to internal improvements. The message of the Governor of Missouri typifies the western attitude on this subject. "The sooner we begin", said the Governor in 1836, "the sooner shall we be in the enjoyment of the advantages resulting from them."¹¹ Determined not to be outdone by her rivals, she ended by acting more foolish than they. We have no means at present of ascertaining how much money the West spent on these subjects, but judging from the state debts it must have been large. "At the close of 1839, 170 millions of dollars of debt had been authorized by the eighteen states without counting the surplus revenue funds of the federal government. Of this 170 millions, 52 millions or 31% had been incurred in aiding state banks; 60 million or about 35% in building canals; 42 million or about 25% for railroad aid; 6 million or about 4% for turn pikes and macadamized roads; and for miscellaneous objects about 8 million. Thus, it will be seen that nearly 103 millions or about 60 per cent of the entire amount was expended for the advancement of the system of internal improvements. Of this amount, Illinois had expended 12

⁹*Maysville Eagle*, Jan. 3, 1833.

¹⁰Niles, Feb. 6, 1835.

¹¹Journal of the House of Representatives of Missouri, 1836, p. 34.

million; Indiana, 12 million; Missouri, 3 million; and Michigan, 5 million.¹²

The method employed by Illinois in handling internal improvements is a good example of the procedure adopted by most of the western states. The magnitude of the Illinois schemes exceeded the wants of the people in as great a degree as its estimated cost exceeded the resources of the state. With a trading capital of 2½ million Illinois entered upon one of the most extravagant projects of internal improvements.¹³ Every dollar to carry out this stupendous undertaking had to be borrowed. The state had no means at its disposal to apply to this purpose but undaunted it lent to itself the school and seminary funds and authorized the commissioners to obtain "Money on the best terms practicable." Then, as a fitting climax to this act, the legislature provided for the construction of one hundred and thirty-four miles of railroad; appropriated a large sum of money "for the use of those few counties in the state which no stretch of ingenuity could penetrate with either railroad or canal"; and finally, having specified certain towns through which the roads had to pass, declared that work should be commenced simultaneously upon all roads "so as to give no one preference."¹⁴

The underlying cause for this tide of immigration westward and its consequent effect upon the internal projects of these states was the disposal of the public lands within their domain. Each land sale within this area brought a

¹²Porter, R. P., *The West from the Census 1880*, Chic., 1882, p. 555.

¹³Bourne, E. G., *Distribution of the Surplus Revenue of 1837* (N. Y., 1885), p. 132.

¹⁴*Journal of the Senate of Illinois, 1842-43*, pp. 11, 12; Cf. also *North American Review*, Vol. LI, pp. 137, 138.

crowd of strangers, and capitalists, ready to avail themselves of the rapid rise in value of the real estate of this region. There was the poor immigrant desirous of securing for himself a home; while along with him came the Eastern capitalist intent upon monopolizing the soil for his own specific advantage. The idea prevailed in the East that the western settlers who had already pre-empted land without legal authority were a body of pirates, robbers and outlaws, and totally unworthy the protection of Congress. The speculators possessed no feeling in common with the settlers; he beheld them and they, in turn beheld him, with an envious and jealous eye. He did not meet with a very cordial reception as he traveled among them; and quite frequently he found his efforts frustrated by their exertions.¹⁵ But with his command of ready sums he quickly secured the choicest locations notwithstanding these obstacles.

One of the best states in which to study the working of this mania is Illinois. The large amount of refuse land in the state afforded abundant occasions for investment; while the ever increasing stream of migration westward stimulated the desire to possess the land. Thus by 1835 Illinois was in a most prosperous and flourishing condition. Population and wealth were pouring into the state from the East¹⁶ and great quantities of land were entered "both by residents and non-residents."¹⁷ The land about Chicago brought large sums. On June 20, 1835, 1,000 lots of 80 acres each were sold averaging over 150 each;¹⁸ and this

¹⁵Skinner to Van Buren, Jan. 3, 1837. Van Buren MSS.

¹⁶Ford, Thomas V., *The Settlement of Illinois* (Madison, 1908), p. 334.

¹⁷*Journal of the Senate of Illinois*, 1838, p. 52.

¹⁸*Chicago American*, June 20, 1835; Cf. also Marshall to Grignon, May 14, 1835 in Morgan MSS. in Wisc. Hist. Soc. Library.

does not seem to have been an exceptionally good day for the market.

With such a state of excitement existing among the peoples of the West it is little wonder there were numerous examples of fraud perpetrated by the purchasers. It was claimed that the land about Chicago had been "sold and resold and sold again"¹⁹ at New York. Paper towns were laid out and advertised in New York and Boston as being at the head of navigation or the "handsomest location for a city in the world";²⁰ and the lots of many of these towns which "today are the sites of some farmer's field brought fancy prices."²¹ Kankakee City, Illinois, was an outgrowth of the speculation of these times and is a good illustration of this mushroom type of cities. "In its best days the population numbered seventy-five; lots were sold in New York and Chicago for thousands of dollars but the city fell into the crash of 1837 and today the site of the once promising Kankakee City is a farm".²² In Grundy, Iroquois and Wills Counties of Illinois are further proofs of these "paper towns."²³ Travellers of the period warned the people about investing in land declaring that many a buyer would esteem himself fortunate, if upon examination of his purchase he found it not only unfit for cultivation but even unsuited for habitation.²⁴ The justice of this accusation is proved in the case of Marion City, Missouri. This

¹⁹Chevallier Michael Society, *Manners and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839).

²⁰Pooley, William V., *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830-1860* (Madison, 1908), pp. 383, 458.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 564, 565.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 385.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 458, 564, 565.

²⁴Chevallier, *Op. Cit.*, p. 307.

was another of the well-mapped towns of this era; and many of the lots in the city were sold in the East at from \$200 to \$1,000—all the front lots yielding the latter sum. Yet when some of the investors sought their locations they found Marion City was just six feet out of water.²⁵

However, it is not to be supposed from this account that all those who participated in these acts wilfully wished to deceive the buyer; or that the West received no benefit from this population. "It is estimated that during the years 1835, 1836 and 1837 more than five hundred new towns were laid out in Illinois, each company believing that its town was in the near future to become a metropolis or center of a thriving populous community."²⁶ While on the other hand there can be found in Illinois certain colonies which were able to withstand the financial crisis of 1837 due to their sound money basis.²⁷

Notwithstanding these facts in favor of the speculator's actions, many grievous charges were placed at their door. One serious accusation was the method they employed in securing lands. Not only did the easterner have the advantage of outbidding the poor settler but he often had the handicap of a superior knowledge of the land which he was buying. How true this was, in some cases, can be determined from the correspondence of Moses M. Strong, for many years a land agent for certain eastern capitalists. Writing to his promoters on one occasion he related the experience of a young man who secured the position of surveyor and traveled through the West "taking notes of the country" as he carried on his work. Thus, wrote Strong, "when the land comes into market (he) can, of

²⁵Bishop Kemper's Diary, April 27, 1836; March 25, 1836.

²⁶Pooley, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 564, 565.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 566.

course, buy to better advantage than any other person."²⁸ So forcibly did this impress the men in the East that pressure was at once brought to bear to secure a similar position for Strong and after convincing Robert T. Lytle, the surveyor-general of Ohio at Cincinnati "that Mr. Strong was a friend of the present administration", the appointment was made and Strong proceeded to carry out his well laid plans.²⁹

Another practice which called forth public condemnation was the alleged connivance between state legislatures and big land purchases. This was a favorite cry among the opponents of the existing Congressional land policy. Some justification of this assumption is shown in the writings of certain contemporary observers. One such commentator, whose veracity is unquestionable, speaks of promoters spending sometime at Indianapolis in order to further their interests.³⁰ How far the promoting of their own interests "involved doubtful transactions", or how far the practice was general it is impossible to assert with any degree of assurance; but that speculators exerted influence on the legislatures in certain states is probably true. It is quite certain that various state officials, such as Governor Dun-

²⁸Strong to Strong, Nov. 16, 1835. Strong MSS. One significant statement of this letter is worth repeating: "Mr. Spencer (the young man mentioned above in the text) says the winter is the best time to see the country as the hunters fire the prairies to hunt, and then you can have the best opportunity to judge the country."

²⁹Strong MSS., Dec., 1835; Jan. 21, 1836; Jan. 23, 1836; April 20, 27, 1836; May 13, 1836. All of these letters emphasize the fact that Mr. Strong was a friend of the administration which shows the close connection between the government and the disposal of the lands.

³⁰Bishop Kemper's Diary, Vol. IV, 1836-37, Jan. 25, 1837.

can of Illinois,³¹ were not adverse to speculation which goes to prove how deep the disease had penetrated the body politic.

Why did not the Treasury Department and the registrars at the land offices restrain and control these practices? The question is a natural one yet in endeavoring to answer it we gain a clearer insight into the weaknesses of the governmental policy and thereby into the devious methods employed by the speculators in their iniquitous work. The Treasury Department, from the beginning of the increased sales in the thirties, was most explicit in its instructions to the registrars regarding the disposal of the public domain. The registrars were informed as to the kinds and specifications of township plats they were to use; as to their commission, powers, and duties; as to whom the department considered "actual settlers"; and as to the departments' and administrations' solicitude respecting the proper use of the public lands.³² But, notwithstanding this close and rather careful supervision by the main office, the men in charge at Washington were well aware of the many abuses practiced by the registrars. The country people when speaking of the land offices familiarly declared they were the "dens of thieves and robbers, a curse to the nation and the destroyer of morals."³³ And a careful study of the land offices verifies this charge.

The best evidence on the method pursued by the speculator can be found in a report made to the Senate in April

³¹Ibid., Jan. 27, 1837. Webster, Biddle and other leading men of the nation were likewise involved in speculations.

³²Circulars to Registrars and Receivers in Chief Clerk's Office, Land Office, Wash., D. C. Chief Clerk's Office, 1826-1851. Circulars, Registers and Receivers New Series, Vol. VI, pp. 19, 78.

³³Hubbard to Van Buren, Nov. 20, 1837, Van Buren MSS.

of 1834 respecting the Zanesville, Ohio, land office. The land office report for 1833 had called attention to the condition of affairs in this locality. "It will appear", so the report set forth, "that of the whole amount of military land scrip issued (over one million) there had been received at the land offices and accounted for at (the main office) on September 30 last, the sum of \$750,000; and that, of this sum, more than one-half had been taken at the Zanesville office in Ohio, and at the office of Indianapolis, Indiana. It is altogether, in my opinion, irreconcilable with the ordinary course of such business, and the usual current of public sales, that so large a portion should have been received at these two offices, without the connivance or direct agency of the land officers and their clerks, or one or more of them at each office, by which scrip has been taken in cases where otherwise cash would have been received."³⁴ Accordingly, a committee was appointed to investigate these charges and a year later made its report. "The Committee have received, but little evidence of frauds committed or tolerated by the land offices, northwest of the river Ohio. These may nevertheless exist; but as no strong representations have been made on the subject commissions for taking testimony have been sent only into the district of Zanesville in Ohio. The evidence from that quarter shows a few cases of favoritism in the entry of public lands at private sale; and, at the same time, the practice pretty generally prevailed of making the land offices depositories of scrip, receivable in payment of the public lands, in which a system of speculation was carried on by the several registers and receivers, in a manner and under circumstances deserving the severest censure of

³⁴ Land Office Report, 1833, Senate Doc. 23, Codng., I Sess., Vol. 1.

the government and the people. The late register at Zanesville has been deeply implicated in these speculations and other malpractices. He was rebuked by the Senate by the rejection of his nomination for reappointment; and, with this exception, it is believed that the sales of the public lands in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and the Territory of Michigan are fairly made according to the law. The states of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana were the principal theatre of speculations and frauds, so the investigators stated."⁸⁵

In part the substance of this report was correct; yet the land office correspondence of these and following years discloses many abuses prevalent in the West. In September of 1835 the Galena, Illinois, and Lima, Ohio, offices had to be reprimanded for inefficiency;⁸⁶ in May of the following year Kalamazoo, Michigan, for permitting maps to be marked indicative of sales before the money was paid;⁸⁷ and in February of 1837, Fort Wayne, Indiana, for honest administration but gross carelessness.⁸⁸ The disposal of land in this section was not as bad as that of the Southern states, owing, probably, to the fact that there was not so much to sell or because the Westerner was not so prone to take a chance as his neighbor to the South. Still abuses did exist, and the populace and the administration were well aware of them.

Therefore the people of the West thought they had just cause in protesting against the methods employed in disposing of the public lands. The speculator with his ready

⁸⁵American State Papers, Land, Vol. VII, p. 733.

⁸⁶Registers and Receivers, New Series, Vol. VI, Sept. 17, 1835; Sept. 25, 1835.

⁸⁷Ibid., New Series, Vol. VI, May 12, 1836.

⁸⁸American State Papers, Land, Vol. VII, pp. 938-948.

cash, his advance knowledge of good land acquired by able agents, his connivance with the registrars and the banks and the pressure he could bring to bear upon the legislatures had every advantage of the poor settler. The country people "waking or sleeping, eating or working" never thought of anything but *land* and how to procure their equitable rights.³⁹ To them the whole land office system was odious and as they formed a large portion of the new states they were able to turn the scale of public opinion in many an election when they united. Necessarily their protests had to be listened to; and it was to handle the evils of this situation and to appease these men that Jackson in July of 1836 issued his famous Specie Circular.

The Democratic accounts said the circular was sent out to stop the further monopolizing of public lands by capitalists. So claimed President Jackson in the preamble of the document; and so reiterated the *Washington Globe*, the official administration organ.⁴⁰ But the Whig papers, as opponents of the government, naturally found entirely different reasons for the order. The leading journals of the Whig party combined in their efforts to condemn the measure. The *Chicago American*, for September 17, 1836, called the attention of its readers to two articles on the subject of the late order. One was from the *Ohio Peoples Press*, a strictly neutral paper in politics, vouchsafed the *Chicago American*, and the other by the *Kennebec Journal*, established expressly to oppose the further elevation of Mr.

³⁹Hubbard to Van Buren, Nov. 20, 1837, Van Buren MSS.

⁴⁰*Globe*, July 21, 1836. It is interesting to note that among the Jackson papers is a memorandum containing an addition to the Treasury circular. This addition was aimed at the newly chartered U. S. Bank of Pennsylvania, but the same is endorsed by Jackson, "to be considered as to the present or future time."

Van Buren, and edited by an original Jacksonian. The *Ohio Peoples Press* in accord with all neutral policies, was the most vehement in its denunciations. "How will the restrictions to gold and silver prevent fraud and speculation", challenged this print. "I say it will increase these evils. It will tend to the establishment and enriching of more shaving shops, because farmers who are not supplied with specie, and very few are, must either have their bank notes shaved by the broker, at an oppressive discount, or purchase *for their paper* the lands already monopolized by the New York speculators at from 2 to 100%. Speculators can also *continue* their monopolies. How so? as no draft or certificate of deposit is to be *received*. Mark! There is an *exception* and it is a very broad one and will cover a great many millions of acres. Most of the speculators are from the Eastward, and the largest of them, as we have good reason to believe, are officers of the government, and their secret agents. They can, without the least difficulty obtain the signature of the treasurer of the United States to any deposit they choose to make and we see there is a special exception made to certificates of deposit signed by the treasurer of the United States. Why is this exception made in favor of the eastern purchasers? All they have to do is to come by the way of the city of Washington, deposit their paper money in a bank at Washington to the credit of the United States treasurer—get a certificate to this effect—take this certificate to the treasurer—obtain *his* signature in lieu of it—and then set out for the western country. * * * These certificates we are told shall pass for land. But if a farmer wants to buy a half section of land and places \$400 in specie in the Clinton bank for which he obtains a certificate of deposit to the credit of the receiver at Lima—his *certificate is good for nothing*

although he has left the silver in the bank." These and similar charges were reiterated in part or in whole by the *Kennebec Journal*, the *Alton Telegraph*, the *Louisville, Kentucky, Journal*, the *Sangamon Journal*, the *St. Louis Republican* and other western papers.⁴¹

Nevertheless these arguments were not accepted in full then nor are they today. The motives of Jackson's order still remains an open question. Most writers on this topic accept Jackson's words at their nominal value. But it is well worth while pausing a moment to study the real incentive of this act. Three possible reasons may be set forth explaining this vigorous action. First, Jackson as a western man was naturally interested and sympathetic toward the settlers and therefore wished to protect them. Second, a man of Jackson's character who could be influenced by such men as those who composed his Kitchen Cabinet might have been imposed upon by the speculator and have actually put forth the circular as the Whigs claimed, to aid this class; and thirdly, the order issued in July of 1836 may have been a wise political move with the intent of carrying the western vote for his protegee in the coming election.

The first explanation seems plausible and so can be accepted. But as regards the second, consensus of opinion has been against the Whig view. However there are some very significant letters in the Polk manuscripts on this subject. In one of them we find an appeal to Polk from a broken down relative asking for letters of introduction for his son-in-law who desired to speculate in lands, to New

⁴¹(*Chic. Amer.*, Sept. 17, 1836. *Alton Telegraph*, April 12, 1837; *Sangamon Journal*, Sept. 3, 1836; *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1836; *St. Louis Republican* and *Louisville, Kentucky, Journal* quoted in same prints.

York brokers "from the old chief, or Mr. Van Buren, or Mr. Butler or members of Congress"; and a few days later we find the son-in-law in receipt of such a letter from the old General to the collector, Colonel Swartout.⁴² Evidently President Jackson was somewhat in touch with the speculators of those days as well as his protege Van Buren, who as early as 1835, called Cambreling's attention to the profits in land and offered to sell his (Van Buren's) property in Chicago to a company of speculators.⁴³ Therefore if Jackson and Van Buren did not actually speculate in lands the Whig contention that they were in touch with these operations was not wholly amiss. As for the third reason, it must be acknowledged that Jackson appealed to as he was by the western settlers⁴⁴, realized the value of such a move on the eve of a political campaign.

Whatever doubt there may be as regards the motive of the Specie Circular, the outcome of its operations are definite. Financial experts of today agree that the measure, although it had for a time salutary results, in the course of a few months worked great hardship to the money market.⁴⁵ The treasury order, by withdrawing specie from the east and carrying it far into the interior, crippled the commercial facilities of the former area while in the meanwhile it led to a general contraction throughout the whole

⁴²Laughlin to Polk, Feb. 21, 1837; March 29, 1837, Polk MSS.

⁴³Van Buren to Cambreling, May 10, 1835, Van Buren MSS.: Cf. also the discussion of Van Buren's speculations in Hallett to V. B., Jan. 12, 1837; Blair to V. B., July 14, 1836; Bowmar to V. B., Aug. 29, 1836; V. B. to Smedley, Sept. 12, 1836. Van Buren MSS.

⁴⁴Green to Jackson, March 23, 1836. Jackson MSS.

⁴⁵Sumner, W. G., *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1900), pp. 335-337; Wirth, Max, *Geschichte der Handelskrisen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1890), p. 167.

land.⁴⁶ The instant people saw the government suspected the reliability of the banking institutions "distrust seized upon the public mind" and "like fire in the great prairies" nothing could stop it.⁴⁷ Specie began to disappear from circulation, a fact which was attested even by good democrats.⁴⁸ The western money market was disturbed as well as that of the east. The people grew restless and discontented under the increasing strain. With their natural proneness to doubt the real object of the act and the decline in their business activity, the west presented a fair field for the Whig politician.

Van Buren was besieged by his friends to rescind the order. Immediately upon his advent into office he was overwhelmed by requests from all sections to repeal the injudicious circular. He was advised of the declining strength of the past administration before its close; of the direful effect upon his own if he continued to enforce the proclamation.⁴⁹ The notion which the West had imbibed that Van Buren was not in favor of such measures as would benefit the settlers and the West generally was one, as his friends admitted, and probably the principal reason why his opponent had run so strong in the West; and he was urged to favor such bills as would benefit the settlers if he wished to make himself popular in this section.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁶ *Reflections on the Present State of the Currency* (Boston, 1837) p. 167.

⁴⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 25 Cong., I Sess., p. 49.

⁴⁸ *Maysville Eagle*, Sept. 14, 1836; Biddell to Polinsett, President's Letter Book, Vol. I, P. 192, cf also numerous letters in Van Buren MSS., on this topic.

⁴⁹ Skinner to Moses, Jan. 3, 1837; Ward to V. B., March 22, 1837; Boon to V. B., April 4, 1837; Lane to V. B., May 27, 1837. Van Buren MSS.

⁵⁰ Skinner to Moses, Jan. 3, 1837. Van Buren MSS.

Whigs were using every means to turn popular feelings against the President. Such prints as the *Maysville Eagle* and the *Cincinnati Republican* and such public men as Governor Duncan, of Illinois, voiced the general opposition to the Specie Circular; while the correspondence of such men as Samuel P. Chase of Ohio, Crittenden of Kentucky, and Poinsett of South Carolina, contain numerous references to the weakening hold of the Democrats on the western states.⁵¹

The Democratic leaders realized this state of affairs and began to exert themselves to bring about its repeal. The Van Buren party in New York held a caucus and sent a special messenger to the President to urge upon him the necessity of repealing the act in order to re-establish the commercial confidence in the nation.⁵² Whig politicians watched with anxiety the view in Washington, fearful the government would rescind in time to carry the fall elections and thus deprive their opponents of campaign material. Everything depended upon the firmness of the executive; and even his closest friends trembled at this thought. Buchanan writing to Jackson stated the common belief among Democrats that President Van Buren lacked stability;⁵³ and the only hope for the supporters of the

⁵¹*Maysville Eagle*, April 19, 1836; Journal of Senate of Illinois, 1837, p. 8; Hubbard to Chase, May 12, 1837; Chase MSS; O'Neal to Poinsette, May 3, 1837, Poinsett MSS.; Pope to Crittenden, Aug. 3, 1836, Crittenden MSS.; Chase to Chase, April 19, 1836, Chase MSS.

⁵²Blatchford to Biddle, April 27, 1837; Colt to Biddle, Mar. 20, 1837. Biddle Papers.

⁵³Buchanan to Jackson, July 28, 1837. Jackson MSS. This letter deals, of course, with Van Buren's later problems, but it voices the general feeling of uncertainty of Democrats regarding Van Buren during the entire year of 1837.

party was that the new President was under a pledge to the old to maintain the latter's principles.⁵⁴ At last on April 4, 1837, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, one of the leading Whig Journals, gave the public the information that the treasury order had not been repealed nor relaxed, nor would it be. It had been decided, so the paper stated, to adhere to the present policy after a stormy meeting of the cabinet.⁵⁵

However, as a matter of fact, this account was entirely an illusion. Van Buren did not rescind the order and he did not appeal to his cabinet for advice. At one time, he did go so far as to draw up a series of questions to propound to the cabinet on the advisability of repeal, as to the public interest on the subject, and as to the possible substitutes in place of the present measure. But he never submitted this, for as he himself stated he had decided to take the entire responsibility and had moreover reason to believe that the cabinet would be decided upon the subject. He was aware that the Specie Circular had only imperfectly checked the speculative craze, but in view of the other hardships attending its repeal, the move seemed unadvisable.⁵⁶ Therefore, when Woodbury writing to Jackson on May 10, 1837, declared the government was determined to stand by its orders, the Democratic chieftains felt greatly relieved.⁵⁷

Thus, in dealing with the speculative craze of the Thirties, three important points stand out clearly in the foreground: (1) the prevalence of the spirit and the in-

⁵⁴Colt to Biddle, March 20, 1837. Biddle Papers.

⁵⁵*N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, April 4, 1837.

⁵⁶Van Buren MSS. The memorandum is in Van Buren's handwriting.

⁵⁷Woodbury to Jackson, May 10, 1837. Jackson MSS.

ability of the government to check and restrain it; (2) the action of President Jackson and his motives for the same; and lastly, the stand taken by President Van Buren. The real importance of the whole study lies in the contrast between the two Democratic Presidents. Jackson, the western favorite, was the idol of the people because they thought he always had at heart their true interests. So he did; but, owing to his general inclinations and natural trust in men, he did not always see his advisor's true designs. Therefore, if he did not actually issue the Specie Circular to aid the speculator, he certainly was in touch with men who were implicated in these transactions and probably was swayed by them. On the other hand, his follower and closest friend was not so clearly untainted by the speculative fever. Therefore, when called upon to act promptly, he lacked the necessary initiative. Seemingly under a pledge to his predecessor he refrained from false delicacy to modify the order. Furthermore, the astute politician, the "little magician" of New York, could not become in a few months a statesman. Van Buren was too much the wary politician to take a definite stand. He endeavored to trim his sails and sail in the wake of the mighty ship of Democracy. But this was impossible and Van Buren was not the man to quickly discern the changed conditions.

THE NEW PURCHASE

PROF. JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The Princeton University *Press* offers a worthy contribution to the centennial celebration of Indiana's admission to statehood by issuing a centennial edition of the "New Purchase", by Baynard R. Hall. This work has been pronounced one of the best books ever written concerning life in the west. Its reproduction will be appreciated by all who are interested in western history. It makes available a handsome reprint of a volume long since out of print, the original edition being now very difficult to find and expensive to buy. This reprint contains the original copy without modification or expurgation. There is certainly no more valuable book on early Indiana. Judge D. D. Banta, himself very thoroughly informed on early Indiana life, has called it "the best and truest history of pioneer life and pioneer surroundings in Indiana that can any where be found. Hall evidently entered with zest into the life and scenes about him, and he writes graphically of all he sees and hears." I wish to speak of this book and its author, the work and the man,—the man who has realized his youthful ambition to be enrolled among the earliest literary pioneers of the romantic west, and the book which has long since been recognized as one of superior excellence and historic value.¹

In 1818 the United States government obtained by treaty with several tribes of Indians what is known in the history

¹This paper contains substantially my introduction to the Princeton edition of the *New Purchase*, which I have had the honor to edit. J. A. W.

of the Middle West as the "New Purchase." In that year Governor Jennings, of Indiana, Benjamin Parke, then Federal Judge for the District of Indiana, and Gen. Lewis Cass, territorial governor of Michigan, acting as a commission of the federal government, met the representatives of the Indian tribes at St. Marys, Ohio. The Weas, the Kickapoos, the Pottawattomies and the Miamis were there in the persons of their chieftains and their spokesmen. The pale face commission succeeded in purchasing nearly all the land east and south of the Wabash not previously relinquished by the Indians. This new acquisition may be described as the tract of land bounded on the north and west by the Wabash river, on the south and west by what is known as the "ten o'clock line",—a line going in the direction a shadow would fall at ten o'clock forenoon, running from a point in Jackson County, Indiana, to a point on the Wabash in Vermilion county. The eastern line of the purchase was the uneven boundary line of the counties already formed in the state in the White Water region. The Delawares agreed to take a grant of land west of the Mississippi, and the other tribes, all having claims to the ceded territory, agreed to withdraw to the north of the Wabash. The Delawares were to have three years in which to gather up their property and leave the state. "In the fall of 1820 the remnants of this once powerful tribe whose ancestors had received Henry Hudson (1610) took up their western march, the disheartened train passing through Kaskaskia about the middle of October."²

Thirty-seven new counties were made, in whole or in part, from the lands embraced in the New Purchase. As the Indians went out the pioneer settlers came in. When

²Osarey, *History of Indiana*, p. 229.

the Indian titles were extinguished and the new lands were opened to settlement the immigrant tide of humanity began to pour in. The government land was offered at \$2.00 an acre. It was lowered to \$1.25 an acre after 1820 which proved to be quite a step for the encouragement of western settlement. The pre-emption system had been put into operation in 1801, by which a settler who could not pay cash for his land might "pre-empt" it and pay for it by installments after he had settled on and begun to work it. The homestead policy, instituted later, was even more liberal to the home-seeker, but the fact that one could pre-empt good, cheap land and have a chance to own it in fee simple, brought many enterprising and hopeful men to a region which was heralded in the East as an Eldorado of rich and productive lands. Some shiftless and worthless "movers" and "squatters" came; many came who had not much of worldly goods; and some came who had once lived a favored life under Fortune's smile but who had lost their all in the contraction and hard times following the war of 1812. Among the latter were the Halls and their relatives. There were others like them,—cultivated people, some imbued with the missionary spirit, some moved by spirit of adventure, and some endowed with a fair amount of worldly goods, who, while seeking new homes and better fortunes for themselves in a new country, were capable and desirous of helping to build the new commonwealth for the American Union in the promising West. True, most of these western settlers were poor, and most of them were ignorant; but most of them also, were men and women of the fundamental virtues,—courage, honesty, hospitality, and of self-reliant manly independence. Hall was sensitive to these noble qualities and he was unstinted in his tribute in honor of the backwoodsmen, "the open

hearted native-born westerner." "Ay, the native corn-cracker, Hoosier or Buckeye, and all men and women born in a cane-brake and rocked in a sugar trough,—all born to follow a trail and cock an old fashioned lock rifle,—all such are open-hearted, fearless, generous, chivalric."

When Hall came into the midst of this backwoods life, Indiana was but a little over four years old. It had a population of about 150,000 souls, by far the greater number of these being below the Old National Road. The greater part of Hall's life in Indiana was to be given to education, and in that noble service he was certainly one of the earliest of our pioneers. In 1820, two or three years before he came, the legislature at Corydon created what was named in the act as "The Indiana Seminary." This in 1828 became the "Indiana College" and in 1838 the "Indiana University", by legal title. The Constitution of 1816 had decreed that the state should provide, as soon as circumstances should permit, "for a general system of education ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition should be gratis and equally open to all." The act creating the "Seminary" in 1820 was saved in the state Senate only by the casting vote of the Lieutenant-Governor Ratliff Boon and it was signed by the first governor of the state, Jonathan Jennings. Six trustees were appointed and they selected a site for the seminary, a quarter of a mile due south of the little village of Bloomington, then but a clearing in the woods only two years old.

Log cabins, whether of hewed logs or round, could be put up in short order by the pioneers of the early days, but it was more than three full years before there could be completed the two small brick buildings with which the "Seminary" began,—one a house for a professor at a cost of

\$891, the other the seminary building itself, at the elaborate cost of \$2,400! This old state seminary opened its doors for students in May, 1824. In the fall of 1823, as the buildings were nearing completion the first professor was elected. This professor was the author of our book and the hero of our story.

Baynard Rush Hall was born in Philadelphia in 1793. He died in Brooklyn, New York, in 1863. In his childhood he was left an orphan and he had to hew out his own way in the world with what assistance could be afforded him by friends and distant relatives. He became a typesetter in his youth and worked at the printer's trade. He was one of "the boys of ink and long primer", working at the printer's desk, still in his teens, when he first heard of Harrison at Tippecanoe. It was then his soul "was stirred to frenzy and swelled with burnings and longings after fame!" The stories of western battle and adventure stirred in his soul a longing to see the unknown western land. He made his way through school, graduated at Union College and at Princeton Theological Seminary. He became a Presbyterian clergyman. He followed his childhood sweetheart of many years after years of separation to Danville, Kentucky, where he was married. He returned to Philadelphia where he suffered deep domestic affliction in the loss of two of his children in their infancy. He then set out with his wife to join some relatives in the New Purchase. He had encountered disappointment in the crushing of some of his high hopes and purposes. So he turned to the new West as an opportunity for a new life. He, weary of a prosaic life in the East, was seeking a life "of poetry and romance amid the rangers of the wood." He found poetry here as well as a mission. In his day dreams he heard the call of the wild, and he felt the resistless

invitation to an enchanting land in what was then known as the "Far West." He affirms that he came influenced by disinterested motives, fired with enthusiasm for advancing solid learning, desirous of seeing western institutions rival those of the East, willing to live and die in the new country, to sacrifice eastern tastes and prejudices, and to become in every proper way a "Western Man",—hopes and expectations which college jealousies and quarrels were destined to cut short before many years. But the Halls came, lured partly by the spirit of romance and adventure, persuaded to exchange "the tasteless and crowded solitude of Philadelphia for the entrancing and real loneliness of the wilds,—the promenade of dead brick for the living carpet of the natural meadow."

When Hall was chosen to become the principal of the new Indiana seminary in the fall of 1823, he had been living for more than a year on the edge of the New Purchase,—with his brother-in-law, John M. Young, and other friends at "Glenville", near White river, about four miles north of Gosport. In that first long winter in the woods he worked at various occupations including carpentry and cabinet making. He made a closet for his study, two scuttles for the loom, putting in and taking out pieces and thus becoming adept in the mysteries of woof and warp, of hanks and reels and cuts. He "mended water-sleds, hunted turkeys, missed killing two deer for want of a rifle, played the flute, practiced the fiddle, and ever so many other things and what-nots." But his "grand employment" was a review of all his college studies, and he, therefore, claimed to be the very first man since the creation of the world that read Greek in the "New Purchase"—a somewhat doubtful claim, since other Presbyterian ministers and some Jesuit Fathers had set foot in these parts before Hall came.

But it is certain however, that during this year and in the years immediately following, Hall entered with spirit and sympathy into all the life of the backwoods. He became a skilled marksman with the rifle; he enjoyed the shooting matches; he learned the art of rolling logs; he became a skilled and practiced hand at the wood choppings; he learned the manners of the quilting parties; he had become an interested spectator but never a participant at the pioneer camp-meetings; he clerked in a country store, ground bark in a tannery, driving "Old Dick" on the treadmill; he preached often, ministering to the sick and dying, and with two of his fellow preachers—Isaac Reed and George Bush, he organized the Wabash Presbytery in Reed's cabin in the woods, and as a Presbyterian he went horseback on long journeys to attend church councils, fording the swamps and rivers and following the traces through the forests. Indeed, his life in early Indiana gave him a rich story to tell. That story is found in the pages of this book.

One of Hall's forest horseback journeys took him from Bloomington to Lafayette, and some one has said that "for the author's fine description of the Tippecanoe battle ground and for his poem on the battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana must ever owe him gratitude." He stood at Tippecanoe "some twelve years after the battle." He had power to express his motion and appreciation. He saw the Battle Ground in "its primitive and sacred wilderness, unfenced, unscathed by the ax, unshorn by the scythe, unmarked by roads." He felt himself standing and walking among the slain warriors! Here was reality. No longer was he beholding Tippecanoe as he had beheld it in his youthful dreams. "Here mouldering are trunks of trees that formed the hasty rampart. Here are scars and seams in the trees torn by balls. Ay!

here is the narrow circle of skeletons of—let me count again—yes, of fourteen horses! But where are the riders? Here under this beech—see the record in the bark—we stand on the earth over the dead,—rider, horse, friend and foe in “one red burial blent.” Such are some of the themes of his volume.

This young man of college culture—of “book larnin,” as his neighbors would say,—lived in this new country almost a decade of years, and after he had gone back to his home in the East, he wrote this book about what he had seen and heard. He called it “The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West,” the author appearing under the pseudonym of Robert Carleton. I would call it an immortal book. Dr. Samuel W. Fisher, of Cincinnati, called it that in 1855. It will prove to be so, at any rate to Indianians, since among Hoosiers this work will be a memorial to the name of its author as long as interest in Indiana history lives, and we are entitled to believe that that interest will prove immortal. This may be said, not because of the literary excellence nor because of any special human interest attaching to its stories, but because it contains the most valuable history of this Hoosier land in its early beginnings; because it relates in graphic style personal adventures, western scenes and characters, college jealousies and dissensions, the state of popular culture or lack of culture, and the social conditions in a large part of this new country in its early days. Here are found vivid descriptions of the varied aspects of frontier life that Hall witnessed and of which he was a part,—the modes of travel, the roads, the cabin homes and inns, the settler’s hospitality, his food, his clothing, the games, the weddings, the barbecues, the rifle matches, the stump speeches, the college exhibitions, the court trial, the “shiv-ar-ree”, the pigeon

shooting. Here is history,—not of wars and dynasties and states, but of the life of a people. Hall was a lover of nature. Amid the mire and the briars of the field, the wallows and the mudholes in the road, amid the pawpaws, the sassafras, and the sycamores, he saw not only the homely sides of life but he had an eye and a heart for the grandeur and beauty of the forest life,—the giant trees, the everlasting shades, the gleaming sunlight by day, the clear blue sky at night over the camp-meeting tents like a dome radiant with golden stars, the warbling birds, the bounding deer, the racing squirrels. In his eyes “no artificial dyes could rival the scarlet, the crimson, the orange, the brown, of the sylvan dresses,—giant robes and scarfs hung with indescribable grandeur and grace over the rough arms and rude trunks of the forest.” He describes a giant sycamore at the mouth of White river, ninety feet in circumference!

Here was a young man, who had eyes to see, with a cultured background, with a power to discriminate and to distinguish the significant, and, above all, he had the virtue of intent and industry (for which Heaven be praised!) to write down what he saw and understood, to preserve it for us, for posterity and for history. For this we shall ever be his debtor. The schools and libraries and readers who are co-operating in the revival of interest in Indiana history will give a responsive welcome to the generosity and enterprise of Hall’s University whose press has made this book again easily available.

Over sixty years ago, in 1855, a New Albany publisher was given unstinted praise for redeeming so deserving a work from oblivion by bringing out the second edition. The *New Purchase* was then generally recognized as a book that “ought to find its way into every western domicil, especially into the homesteads of Indiana.” The book was

originally published by the Appletons. The first edition of 1,000 copies, in two volumes, sold chiefly in the East, but few copies finding their way to the West. This was, as the author says, "in the middle of the cheap literature age when English works were selling for a shilling." The Appletons were pleased with the circulation of the work and suggested a second edition of 6,000 copies; but the elder Appleton died while the contract was pending, his sons lost sight of it, and in 1855 when the book had been nearly twelve years out of print, Mr. John R. Nunemacher, of New Albany, Indiana, stimulated by inquiries for the book, opened negotiations with the author with a view to bringing out a new edition. Professor Hall was then living in Brooklyn, New York, preaching twice every Sunday and teaching at Park Institute five hours a day during the week. (His daughter sang in Doctor Cheever's church). Hall gave a ready ear to the proposal to reprint the *New Purchase*. His friend, Professor Bush, who had been one of the characters of the book, encouraged the venture and was sanguine of its success, saying that "not a copy can be obtained anywhere for love or money" and that he "had in vain looked over all the old bookstores for a stray copy." Nunemacher had to search diligently in the West before he could find one.

The author and publisher had sanguine hopes for the success of the new edition. There had been many fulsome reviews of the first edition and the second one was also favorably reviewed by the press. But it created no excitement in the book market. Its sales were disappointing and in July, 1856, Hall wrote to Nunemacher, "Our book appears to be dead." The book, however, sold slowly and it continued to sell for "half a century and now a copy of the second edition is about as difficult to obtain as is one of

the original edition of 1843. The second edition was published in one volume with fanciful illustrations of "Old Dick" at the Treadmill, the "young doctor" running through the river to escape from "Hunting Shirt Andy", and "Mizraim Ham" doing "David and Goliath", etc. The second edition, also omitted about 130 pages,—all the chapters relating to President Wylie and the college quarrel. These parts of the book had a personal and local color—rather yellow—and they attracted attention beyond their merits, as if they were the chief features of the book,—so much so that the *Indianapolis Sentinel* said of the book when the second edition appeared, "the original design of the work was principally to hold up to public indignation and ridicule the late Rev. Dr. Wylie, President of the University, with whom the author had a disagreement which led to his leaving the college, and, also the late Governor Whitcomb, General Lowe and others."

While Hall's strictures on Whitcomb and Wylie are by no means unbiased nor truly historic and while it may be thought best by some to let the account of this unseemly quarrel drop from the record and be utterly forgotten, yet the publisher and editor of this edition are convinced that they should allow the readers of the New Purchase to have it exactly as it came from the press in the original edition of 1843. This edition of 1843 is therefore reprinted, college quarrel, personalities and all, without change or expurgation. The author in his preface to the second edition said that, perhaps, "in time a Key may be forged for the Lock". A "Key" is now supplied from the best knowledge available,—from manuscript letters of Hall himself, and from a comparison with "Keys" in manuscripts found in early copies of the work, and from papers of Judge Banta and Dr. James D. Maxwell.

There was at first some Indiana resentment at what was considered unjust caricature in the "New Purchase", but this has long since passed away. The general truthfulness of the book, the integrity and sincerity of its author, and the great value to history of Hall's descriptions and portraitures are now recognized by all and I do not hesitate to say that his book will ever remain what Hall richly deserved that it should prove to be, an imperishable Indiana classic.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

BY MR. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, BOSTON, MASS

To discuss in cool and measured terms, in the din and heat of a presidential campaign, a subject replete with politics requires a fit occasion. In 1816, Madison was preparing to make room for his successor Monroe, in a period of such political calm as to have passed into history as the "era of good feeling." We know that it was rather an era of exhaustion, and that the good feeling was apparent rather than real. In that year, 1816, Indiana passed from a territory to a state, the sixth addition to the original thirteen, one more stage in absorbing the West, a process yet incomplete. From the first passage of settlers across the mountains of Virginia the problem of transportation had been sensible, a problem also still in process of solution. In all this period of experiment and development I can only isolate one step, a single phase in which an alternative of policies offered. The choice then made was decisive. It so happens that the decision fell in time while Indiana was territory and state. She could take no share in the earlier discussions, but her influence was felt in the conclusion. In this manner I may justify the selection of my subject.

The subject was as much western as eastern or southern, and as pertinent to Indiana as to Massachusetts. The subject involves, too, the study of an individual of national importance, with whom I have walked in intimacy for five years, the intimacy which grows out of contact with and constant reading of his state papers and correspondence.

The value of this paper, if it has value, will thus be to recall the utterances and convictions of a man built on truly national lines; who so passionately loved the union that he was a unionist when his colleagues, friends and state muttered or planned disunion; who was a unionist when the Missouri compromise advanced the cause of disunion; and who throughout life served that union loyally, at heavy sacrifice, and with high success, foreseeing with a feeling akin to horror the coming clash between sections, that appeal to arms which could alone determine the question of union or of separation. I refer to John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, so thoroughly of Massachusetts as to be bone and flesh of that individual—some hold, eccentric commonwealth; and yet in spite of birth and inheritance, nationalistic in thought and action. He needs no defense—except from himself. For his diary gives a distorted idea of the man and his relations. That however is only to be mentioned here—not detailed.

He appreciated the possibilities of the West, the political possibilities and not merely the economic future, which appeared to the men of his day as a splendid mirage, to become material in centuries—something to be dreamed, and left to posterity to enjoy—the simplest but not the most intelligent method of meeting difficult problems. The West—the word could mean the Alleghanies, the Ohio valley, the Mississippi, the Stony or Rocky Mountains, or the South Sea. When Columbus sailed among the West Indies and touched the continent, he established a western frontier; and sprinkled the shores with the names of saints, preparatory to doing most unsaintly deeds against the poor natives. Jamestown, in Virginia, and Plymouth, in Massachusetts, a few cabins with a modicum of land, began the progress westward, but for a century and a half, the in-

habitants had their powers tested in holding against Indians and French the fringe of territory lying east of the Alleghenies. Even then the understanding among the different colonies was so slight that a threat of a general invasion from the westward could not produce united effort and contribution. From the New England Confederation of 1643 to the Declaration of Independence, the idea of union, of solidarity, remained an end to be sought, but an end still beyond the possible. A coastwise trade offered the nearest approach to a realization, and the coastwise trade was inferior in importance to the commerce with the West Indies, Europe and Africa. The vast interior, little known and less appreciated, fed the trapper and hunter, and tempted the enterprising and the broken in fortune, but remained unmeasured and as immeasurable as the colonial claims of extent to the South Sea. A trail, a road at times almost impassable, and methods of transportation so costly as to be well-nigh prohibitive—these natural features rendered the isolation of each colony and province quite complete.

Without question the most comforting feeling possible is a conviction that our acts enjoy the countenance and protection of a higher power. The Spaniards no more doubted their right to possess and exploit the new continent than they questioned their right to subdue the Netherlands to submission. The good English first comers, as soon as they learned of the epidemic which had swept the Indians from the land, leaving only a few tribes of sufficient number to contest their taking possession, saw in it the hand of God. The land was divinely prepared for the immigrants, and in matters of state and church a new era began, an era of political experiment upon fresh lines. True, allegiance to mother country and customs was loudly asserted, yet novel conditions and mental attitude modified according to the

needs. Almost unconsciously a social condition in time arose, different from anything the world of that day knew, and to this condition the word "free" came to be applied. Today it expresses a world of opportunity—individualism unrestrained save by voluntary union of effort. That freedom of development in colonial times tended to perpetuate the isolation of colony and province which topography and imperfect transportation imposed—the basis of states rights.

Not so complete, however, as to preclude jealousies and competition. Plymouth had paid for itself in pelts, and the fur trade continued to be a most profitable venture under proper conditions. With settlement came corn—as corn and as whiskey—and the Kentucky region gave such a foundation and impetus to trade, that the settlers looked south, to New Orleans and to Spain as their natural market, possibly their natural rulers. The Ohio valley and its grain tempted the New Englander, Virginian and Carolinian, and by its bounteous crops added still stronger motives to tap these regions so as to make them profitable to the eastern or coast states. Washington was no visionary in believing that Virginia could secure almost a monopoly of the western trade; but he did not realize that Virginia was incapable of the effort necessary to secure it. New York and Pennsylvania were more advantageously situated; and the shrewd Pennsylvanian and the politicians of New York drawing upon greater resources and banking upon greater credit, succeeded against the slave-holder of Virginia. The Erie canal, a prodigy of foresight, sealed the South within its own latitudes. Yet the Potomac and James river canals were for their time as great evidence of foresight, the beginnings of a system of transportation which had result, not entirely commercial, but political as well. By reaching

out for trade connections they expressed union of interest; for the constitution had wisely freed the great internal commerce of the country from local restrictions and taxes which cultivate enmities. Political union was far from assured; commercial union was a fact.

This did not do away with state and sectional jealousies. There had always been a difference in policies between north and south; as wide as between slave and free. Pennsylvania and New York thought in terms other than did New England and the South. They held the balance of power, able to favor one or the other section as best suited their own purposes. If it could be imagined that such differences in policy might be lessened, even extinguished, what instrument or agency offered? The question hardly presented itself then; it is a quite academic question today. Yet the answer is clear—the national government. Hamilton recognized that his financial policy, and especially, the assumption of the state debts, gave a cement to the union which no other measure of government could do. Bitterly opposed to his views, the South looked upon his proposals as criminal, covering corruption and speculation threatening the very existence of the states. Hamilton thus recognized the ability of the central government to invite—nay, compel, union. Another agent was Marshall, spreading the constitution by his decisions so as to make the central government a centralizing power.¹

Rivalry of independent states is evidenced by economic competition or war. There offers no middle road of compromise. The constitution could not remove the cause of

¹The political aspect of Marshall's career has been touched upon by some writers, but without the connection demanded for its true comprehension. This has now been done, and well done, by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge in his "Life of John Marshall."

differences and extreme competition, because that cause primarily resided in a social difference which the constitution had refused to judge and which it had aggravated by one of those conscience quieting compromises, certain to entail subsequent misery. Words, agreements, compromises, deeds—nothing could alter the drift of events. Politically, the succession of Jefferson to the Presidency appeared to involve a radical change of policy. In reality the attempt to change proved temporary and Jefferson and Madison retired from office leaving the country, from the constitutional point of view and after many experiments, about as it would have been had the Hamilton policy been allowed to run its course. A union, a nation—it was still impossible to conceive of such a political entity except as one possessed of powers adequate to its purpose. To draw to itself these powers, to become more centralized, and greater than any of the parts—has not this been historically true at all times?

The question of internal improvements at the general expense may be said to have begun in 1796, when Madison proposed to construct post roads with the surplus revenues of the post office. Jefferson, then in opposition, and bending all his energies to building up a following of strict constructionists, to whom nothing that the federalists proposed could be acceptable, raised a note of alarm. "We have thought, hitherto, that the roads of a state could not be so well administered even by the state legislature as by the magistracy of the county on the spot. * * * I view it as a source of boundless patronage to the executive, jobbing to members of Congress and their friends, and a bottomless abyss of public money. * * * The roads of America are the best in the world except those of England and France. But does the state of our population, the extent

of our internal commerce, the want of sea and river navigation, call for such expense on roads here, or are our means adequate to it?"² There spoke the Virginian of the colonies, who saw nothing beyond the bounds of the mountains, and whose adventurous spirit cooled when expense without immediate return was in question. The strict constructionist clung to the letter and overlooked the spirit. He even objected to the national government fortifying the harbors.

So extreme a position could not last. In 1799 Hamilton instanced the improvement of roads as one of three expedients for extending the influence and promoting the popularity of the government—the other two being an extension of the judiciary system and premiums for inventions and improvements in agriculture and the arts. The road proposition, he believed, would be "universally popular." As to canals, a change in the constitution would be requisite. But Jefferson, on coming to the Presidency and its responsibilities, modified his opposition, and favored national expenditures on roads, rivers and canals, under an amendment of the constitution, thus almost occupying common ground with Hamilton. This he did for the same reason: "By their operations new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union will be cemented by new and indissoluble ties."³ Was it an opportunist trait which led him thus to regard with favor, conditioned as it was, what he had a few years before considered dangerous to the state? As between his pet scheme of education and canals and roads, he admitted

²Writings of Jefferson (Ford), VII. 63.

³18th annual message. Messages and Papers of the President. I. 408.

that the people generally had more feeling for roads and canals, and safety even for a strict constructionist lies on the side of the majority.⁴

An influence of the most winning yet strongest character exerted its power in producing this change. Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, in Jefferson's cabinet, had had experience in the Pennsylvania legislature, during the early nineties, and had taken a leading if not the leading part in framing administrative laws. Not being a professional lawyer the administrative appealed to him more strongly than the legislative features. Then he had favored the first turnpike road in the United States—that from Philadelphia to Lancaster—in the face of considerable opposition. "This," he recorded, "as well as every temporary improvement in our communications (roads and rivers) and preliminary surveys, met, of course, with my warm support."⁵ He had then dealt on a small scale with the problem which he handled later on a national one, the proper disposition of the proceeds of the sales of public lands; and so successfully did he meet it for Pennsylvania, that his policy remained for forty years in operation, to the lasting benefit of the state and localities. This and an experience in opposition in Congress, made him less orthodox on certain constitutional questions than some of his Virginia friends desired; and he made a partial convert of Jefferson.

What the Philadelphia-Lancaster turnpike was to Pennsylvania, the Cumberland road was to the nation. Connected with the disposition of the public lands, the act of April 30, 1802, allotted one-twentieth of the proceeds to the building of roads from the Atlantic coast across Ohio—the national road once of such importance. This act was

⁴Writings of Jefferson (Ford), IX. 169.

⁵Adams, *Life of Gallatin*, 85.

due to Gallatin, though he had proposed to devote just twice as much to these roads. Five years later (January, 1807), thus coinciding with Jefferson's public announcement of his change of position, the first report of the commissioners for laying out the Cumberland road from the Potomac to the Ohio was laid before Congress, and in the following months—February 23, 1807, Adams introduced into the Senate a resolution, directing the secretary of the treasury to report at the next session, "a plan for the application of such means as are constitutionally within the power of Congress, to the purpose of opening roads, for removing obstructions in rivers, and for making canals; together with a statement of the undertakings of that nature now existing in the United States, which, as objects of public improvement, may require and deserve the aid of government."⁶ Hamilton's proposal to assume the state debts incurred during the war for Independence and Adams' resolution for internal improvements at the expense of the general government made for union; Adams' idea pointed to far greater possibilities of a permanent system of national betterment. The resolution was negatived, apparently without debate. Worthington, of Ohio, in the same session was successful in an even more general plan.⁷ Priority of action justifies the claim of Adams that "he was the first mover" in the systematic general plan of internal improvements.⁸

To Gallatin no more congenial task could be assigned, and his report proved his full ability to deal with it upon the broadest principles. Roads, canals, local interests and a combination of local and national funds and direction—

⁶Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 2d Sess., 77.

⁷Ib., 97. Only three votes in the Senate were in the negative.

⁸Memoirs, VIII. 444.

the plan, vast as it was, required no increase of taxation and guarded against waste and selfish appropriations. Once inaugurated, it offered a system expansible with the needs of the country, and yet always to be controlled by the national government. Economically sound, it was politically a wise measure. In 1802 Gallatin had written upon his land and road bill to Giles: "A due attention to the particular geographical situation of that territory [Ohio] and of the adjacent western districts of the Atlantic states, will not fail to impress you strongly with the importance of that provision in a political point of view, so far as it will contribute towards cementing the bonds of the Union between those parts of the United States whose local interests have been considered as most dissimilar."⁹ If that was the effect of a single road, picture the effect of a network of roads.

Why Jefferson failed to carry out this program is known—foreign complications paralyzed internal plans. The war proved the necessity and the wisdom of a policy of internal improvements, but Madison lacked the breadth of vision the policy demanded. While he was in office nothing was done, and his last annual message to Congress (December, 1816), in a merely perfunctory manner, invited their attention to a comprehensive system of roads and canals, "such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity."¹⁰ So mild a bleat did produce a report in Congress;¹¹ yet one may question whether Madison expected even that.

⁹Writings of Gallatin, I. 79.

¹⁰Messages and Papers of the Presidents, I. 576.

¹¹Am. State Papers, Miscellaneous, II. 420.

For by his last message to Congress, on the day before the end of his presidential term, he vetoed an act to set apart and pledge certain funds for internal improvements, because of his insuperable difficulty in reconciling the bill to the constitution.¹² Jefferson approved this veto as entirely proper; this, in the face of state plans—like the Erie and the Delaware canals—which seemed gigantic, and “incalculably powerful in favor of the Atlantic states.”¹³

When Monroe questioned Madison on the Cumberland road, he could only plead his entire ignorance of the matter, and went so far as to say that Jefferson’s assent must have been given “doubtfully or hastily.” He expressed his own fears in thus seeking to explain Jefferson, and he had in mind his own apprehension that the genuine sense of the Constitution was in serious danger, through unwarrantable latitude of construction;¹⁴ and that measures would be judged by their utility and popularity rather than by their constitutionality.

With Monroe a fresh impetus is given to the matter—in appearance a negative impetus. “Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements” to such improvements, “nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them.” Yet he believed Congress did not possess the right to inaugurate internal improvements, and this could mean only that he would veto on constitutional grounds any act adopted by Congress making appropriations for roads and canals. He desired an amendment to the constitution giving power. Eight days later Indiana was admitted as a state, to a full share of all that the Union could offer. Monroe was at least consistent, and in

¹²Messages and Papers of the Presidents, I. 584.

¹³Writings of Jefferson (Ford), IX. 91.

¹⁴Writings of Madison, III. 55.

1822 refused to sign the bill for the preservation and repair of the Cumberland road, accompanying his veto by an exposition of his reasons, prepared some time before, which now reads as a curiosity, and even then could hardly have made converts to his views, much less enthusiasm for his statesmanship. That message he sent to Congress without consulting any member of his cabinet.

Two years pass and in 1824, just as Monroe prepared to lay aside his cares, to enter upon an obscurity which is eloquent upon the abilities of the man, internal improvements as a national problem came to the front. The authority of the convention of 1787 and of Madison was appealed to; and that remembrancer of the Constitution, dipping into his memory, recalled that in convention the question of canals had been repeatedly proposed and negatived, either as improper to be vested in Congress, or as a power not likely to be yielded by the states.¹⁵ He remembered correctly, for he had himself proposed in the convention to grant charters of incorporation where the interest of the United States might require and the legislative provisions of individual states might be incompetent; and had in special view to secure an easy communication between the states. His proposal was negatived.¹⁶

Now he could only 'view with alarm' the tendency towards national undertakings. War had imposed upon his party enough federalist institutions to make his consistency as a republican difficult to maintain, but necessity is a capital predigestor of that unpalatable dish—one's own words. To be challenged now upon his favorite theme, and with a record among his friends and following by no

¹⁵ Writings of Madison, III. 435.

¹⁶ Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Hunt), II. 373.

means clear and consistent, he sought refuge in words, and the counsel of his closest friends.

When a political discussion reduces itself to a discussion of words, general phrases of unconvincing import, come into use. Madison laid the desire for internal improvements to "utility" brought home to local feelings, an influence which has always existed and which ever will exist in the discussion of any question affected with a public interest. How can one utility, self-evident and forceful, be set aside except by a greater utility of weightier import? Constitutional objections are not ascendant, for as good reasons, practical and inevitable, can be given on the other side. Unless an opinion is dominant, based upon final authority and backed up with power, such discussions are barren—soon outstripped by facts and relegated to history. It is strange to read Madison writing to Jefferson that on this very question of internal improvements he was not sure that the judiciary branch of the government would not be a safer expositor of the power of Congress than Congress when pushed on by their constituents.¹⁷ This, with Marshall still on the bench. Bowing to the majority, as every good republican must, Madison regarded the question as settled—on the utilitarian not the constitutional argument. The abuse of power in human hands—the nightmare pursued the fathers long after the abuse had been disproved, and vantage noted; but it was so convenient a shield for reluctant souls bound to the past. This Madison exemplified; a good expounder of the constitution, his strength lay in facing backward. To him the constitutional convention of nearly forty years before was still in session—a standard of interpretation. Every exercise of the power since 1802

¹⁷Writings of Madison, III. 483.

had weakened his position. A usurpation of power by Congress against the will, had passed into an assumption of power with the approbation of their constituents. Adams was entirely correct when he said in 1824: "Since the act of Congress establishing the Cumberland road, there had been no constitutional question worth disputing about involved in the discussion" of internal improvements.¹⁸ A disputation is, however, not necessary to determine a political contest, and opposition does not require an intelligent basis to gain its ends by indirect or unexpected means. So Adams came into the Presidency, with a firm belief in internal improvements, unhampered by constitutional metaphysics, and strong in precedents under his predecessors in office. He was not a Southerner, he was not of the Virginia dynasty, and he was too independent to be bound by dicta or objections dug out of the rapidly disappearing past. The absorption of Louisiana stood as a telling argument against the cry for stricter construction of the Constitution.

Few political positions are so undesirable as one bridging over a radical change in parties or principles. The old still lingers on the stage, superfluous by reason of inutility, except for opposition; the new has not yet gained strength and consistency needed for success. It is the dead calm of politics, fruitful in developing factions in a struggle to become masterful and so to inherit leadership. Such a period was Monroe's, the last of the old Virginians, who had played their part in war and peace, as colonists, rebels, revolutionists, constitution makers. A feeling existed that a notable change was impending—a change involving leaders and policies. A strong personality, or a program commanding a majority—which would be the decisive factor?

¹⁸Memora, VI. 451.

Crawford, Lowndes, Calhoun, Adams, Jackson, Clay—the names come trippingly, but as yet convey little meaning. Intrigue, bargains, foreign questions, domestic problems could be listed so as to favor any one, but not so as to pick the winner. No one could come in without facing serious opposition; no one could win without a sense of danger from his success. Pledged or unpledged, from north or from south, or from west, the incoming President could only be dangerously near a minority President—of unstable equilibrium, as unstable as parties and policies under factional divisions could be.

Fortunately the choice fell upon Adams—not by popular election, but through the defects of popular election. Of Adams himself too much has been said to give a true picture of the man. Of few intimacies, reserved to the general public and rigid in his conceptions of official responsibilities, he was and has since been the mark for criticism on every side. Few men in public life, at a time when ruthless war prevailed among public characters, endured so much as he. His public policies were interpreted as dangerous and impracticable; his acts were dissected to prove them diseased to the core; his private life was maligned so outrageously as to react upon the purveyors of scandal. That he wore no neck tie and went to church in bare feet, was repeated by the British minister of that day, who had at least had ample opportunity to know that the secretary of state was a match in intellect and political foresight to the British ministry, with George Canning at its head. He profoundly believed in internal improvements by the national government.

Adams seized the first opportunity to state his conviction. In his inaugural address he referred to the public works, among the imperishable glories of the ancient re-

publics. He spoke of the respectful deference due to doubts on the powers of Congress in the premise, doubts "originating in pure patriotism and sustained by venerated authority." "Repeated discussions had conciliated the sentiments and approximated the opinions of enlightened minds upon the question of constitutional power. I can not but hope that by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government in relation to this transcendently important interest will be settled and acknowledged to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.¹⁹

Such language seems tame by the side of his first annual message to Congress. What a council of war is to a general, a cabinet meeting is to a president. Something more than courtesy is involved in reading an annual message to the advisers of the president, for under our method of selecting a cabinet political futures are affected—most delicate barometers of currents, popular and unpopular. The administration, the party, the individual—in such order of precedence proposals take on unexpected possibilities. When Adams read his message to his cabinet, Barbour, Secretary of War, and a Virginian, objected to the whole concluding recommendations on the subject of internal improvements, and Clay thought there was much force in his remarks.²⁰ In twenty-four hours Clay was for recommending nothing which from its unpopularity would be unlikely to succeed; Barbour, nothing so popular that it might be carried without recommendation. "Clay good humoredly remarked this alternate stripping off from my

¹⁹Messages and Papers of the Presidents, II. 278.

²⁰Memoirs, VII. 59.

draft; and I told them I was like the man with his two wives—one plucking out his black hairs, and the other the white, till none were left.²¹ Another day passed, and on a third reading Barbour withdrew his general objection, but, with Clay, remained firm on certain details, both again taking expediency as their guide. A new executive department, patent office expansion, a university, and an enumeration of internal improvements for which Congress had power—the discussion must have taken a wide range. Clay thought the university hopeless, even unconstitutional. “I concurred entirely”, Adams noted, “in the opinion that no projects absolutely impracticable ought to be recommended; but I would look to a practicability of a longer range than a simple session of Congress. General Washington had recommended the military academy more than ten years before it was obtained. The plant may come late, though the seed should be sown early. And I had not recommended a university—I had only referred to Washington’s recommendations, and observed that they had not been carried into effect.” On the new executive department Clay admitted its urgent necessity; no one knew it better than he. Yet he was sure there would not be twenty votes for it in the House. He did not believe there would be five. To this Adams replied that his views should be presented either in his first or in his last message and the uncertainties of the future favored the first. Rush, Secretary of the Treasury, and a professional harmonizer, urged the communication at that time. Clay yielded consent without parting with his scruples on details; and Barbour very reluctantly withdrew his objections to the whole topic. Rush approved the whole, and Southard said not enough to indicate his position. “Thus situated”, Adams took the full

²¹Ib., VII. 61.

responsibility, writing in his diary, "the perilous experiment must be made. Let me make it with full deliberation, and be prepared for consequences."²²

Clay had thrown out one illuminating suggestion: "He was fully convinced that Congress had the powers [necessary to carry out the President's recommendations]; but he had no doubt that if they did not exercise them there would be a dissolution of the Union by the mountains."²³ This glanced back to the days of the so-called Spanish conspiracy in Kentucky and Tennessee, and could bear expansion. Wirt, attorney general, who had not seen the message, after listening to the part respecting internal improvements added an argument not without historical relations: He thought it "excessively bold. He said there was not a line in it he did not approve; but it would give a strong hold to the party in Virginia, who represent me as grasping for power. * * * This subject was a great source of clamor. Patrick Henry's prophecy would be said to have come to pass: that we wanted a great, magnificent government. It was a noble, spirited thing, but he dreaded its effects upon my popularity in Virginia. The references to the voyages of discovery and scientific researches in monarchies would be cried down as a partiality for monarchies; and the project of a voyage in search of the Northwest passage would be brought as evidence that I am a convert to Captain Symmes."²⁴

A reference to the original manuscript of this message shows that little change was made in the paragraphs on internal improvements. Adams had not won a victory over his advisers, but he had, as usual, proved his independence;

²²Memoirs, VII. 63.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Memoirs, VII. 64.

No reasonable person could have raised a question upon the merits of the President's propositions. The country west of the Mississippi had already lured the fancies of Jefferson so far as to bring out the concrete act of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. No one realized better than Adams the international questions involved in the Columbia river. Science and its study were comparatively new in the United States, but that brought the advantage of boundless opportunity; and everywhere the danger of ignorance in a republic formed a stock subject of discussion—except in the Fourth of July oration, where perfection only seemed to have place. No one unhampered by interest would deny the wonderful potentialities inherent in good communications among the different parts of the Union. Academically the gains were all on one side, undeniable, grand almost to dazzling in promise, and of most timely occurrence. For the nation was almost without debt and the revenues ample if left to unobstructed development. With every circumstance thus pointing to success, defeat, utter and irretrievable came from an accumulation of quite unrelated issues and influences, which when combined proved strong enough to overcome reason.

First, there was the strict constructionist faction, centered in Virginia, now no longer the controlling state politically in the Union. The union of three ex-Presidents from that state would have presented a formidable opposition, an opposition never witnessed before or since. Jefferson, with all his original doubts on constitutional powers revived and strengthened, wrote in alarm to Madison, fearing Congress would yield to the popular demand, and calling upon him for aid. He prepared a protest intended to come from the Virginia legislature, one of the most characteristic of Jefferson—a popular success depended upon other factors.

son's compositions. It protested against enlarging the powers of the national government by constructions, inferences, and indefinite deductions, from those directly given; it suggested separation only to reject it (the current attitude of Georgia was in his mind); it drew a picture of submission to unlimited powers as the greatest of evils, greater even than separation; yet pledging the state "to be patient and to suffer much"; and calling upon the citizens to pay as full obedience at all times and in all places to congressional acts on internal improvements as if the acts had been passed by the legislature of Virginia.²⁵ The strength of the protest was weakened by its illogical ending—to incorporate a general national law into the state statutes, the state having no executive control over the law or agents. To declare a national act as a usurpation of power, and therefore null and void, and then to recommend its full adoption by the state legislature with an air of a martyr submitting to his fate, sounded a note so different from the Resolutions of 1798 that one might doubt its coming from the same source. To Giles he made the little more feasible suggestion of authorizing the federal government to employ funds on local improvements, with the consent and full jurisdiction of the state concerned.

Fortunately for Jefferson, Madison took a more expedient view of the subject—expedient because based upon political considerations. He had a few days before written a cryptic letter to Ritchie, of the *Richmond Enquirer*, on the question.²⁶ To Jefferson he was more intelligible. Knowing through an experience of some bitterness, that Virginia no longer stood entirely well with her sister states,

²⁵Writings of Jefferson (Ford), X. 349N.

²⁶Writings of Madison (Hunt), IX. 231.

and that her policies were infected by known internal weakness, he doubted if anything could be gained under her initiative or leadership. He thought a waiting policy the better. New England was not united on the question of national internal improvements, with a tendency to antagonize; New York would be led by the interest of her Erie canal into opposition; Van Buren, a promising politician, was renewing his motion for amendment of the constitution, and a member from Massachusetts—John Bailey—was moving in the same way, but not, as was thought at the time, under the influence of Adams.²⁷ In short the question, in his opinion, would be satisfactorily determined by its inherent weakness and certainty to promote divisions. Jefferson adopted this view, suppressed his proposed resolutions, and, confessing having neither matter nor mind to form an opinion, in a few weeks passed from the stage without further participation in the discussion. Did he, when he wrote, realize that the question whether the powers exist was giving way to the question how far they ought to be used, without regard to a grant by the constitution? Parts of this correspondence were communicated to Adams in January (17th), but in such a way as to leave the impression that both ex-Presidents denounced the doctrines of the message in emphatic terms, and that Virginia had been solidified against the administration.²⁸

Madison continued to take an interest because of the questions from Van Buren, who never will take rank as a constructive statesman, and whose acts are colored by political ends. Such being the case, Van Buren's questions would require interpretation in another vein, an interpre-

²⁷Writings of Jefferson (Ford), X. 349; Writings of Madison (Hunt), IX. 238; Adams, Memoirs, VII. 80.

²⁸Memoirs, VII. 105.

tation resting upon possible political combinations. But Madison still stood by the constitution, raised refinements for consideration, discussed practical objections, and concluded that nothing could be satisfactory while the words "common defense and general welfare" remained in the constitution, as a fund of power, "inexhaustible and wholly subversive of the equilibrium between the general and the state governments, within the reach of the former."²⁹ Even this somewhat radical suggestion passed like the wind. "The state of the political atmosphere", he wrote in March, 1827, "did not promise that discussion and decision on the pure merits of such an amendment, which ought to be desired."³⁰ From Virginian leaders Adams could look for no countenance.

Another question came to complicate argument and lead to a conclusion—the tariff. Not Virginia but South Carolina gave vigorous utterance upon it, which culminated in the nullification movement. The sympathy between the South and the West was threatened by the Adams policy of internal improvements. The West naturally favored it; but the South could not recognize that it would yield her enough to compensate for other hostile measures—notably the tariff. On that South Carolina merely expressed in louder tones the disaffection of the South. New England was now a convert to protection, and thus against the South. The middle states were also in favor of protection, but yet plotted rather for political control. Pennsylvania and Virginia, acting together had got about what they wanted; now their interests were opposed. As a result the West gave its influence to New England, but for a price, and that price was the cheapening of public lands.

²⁹Writings of Madison, IX. 255.

³⁰Ib., 284.

Jefferson bemoaned that the West had thus been bribed by local considerations to abandon their ancient brethren and enlist under banners alien to them in principles and interest.³¹ Meanwhile Adams participated in an occasion which seemed to promise success to his policy by its demonstrated utility.

July 4, 1828, was the day for initiating the first canal to be undertaken under his plan. In view of its great importance to the country and to future ages, the ceremony assumed to him something of a religious character. The irony of circumstance has caused his taking off his coat to spade up an obstacle to overshadow every other feature of the occasion. The breach of presidential decorum has buried the expression of his ardent hopes and desires for his fellow citizens. More than that, on the same day ground was broken for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, with the ancient Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the sole remnant of the signers of the Declaration, as the chief figure. If the canal was already becoming a secondary means of transportation as against the railroad, the power to construct, or to take part in the construction of a canal was a decided advance in constitutional policy, applicable to any other form of public activity. The material victory lay with the railroad; but the history of the government of the United States had with the canal begun a new chapter, still being written, and still incomplete.

In retiring to private life, in 1829, never again, as he thought, to take part in public affairs, Adams' great regret was that the political parties had combined against him because of his devotion to the Union, and to the improvement, physical, moral, and intellectual, of the country. "The North assails me for my fidelity to the Union; the South

³¹Writings of Jefferson (Ford), X. 359.

for my ardent aspirations of improvement. Yet 'bate I not a jot of heart and hope.' Passion, prejudice, envy, and jealousy will pass. The cause of Union and of improvement will remain; and I have duties to it and to my country yet to discharge."³² His part proved to be a modest one, yet never did his belief in the policy waver. The rising democracy of the West and Southwest disturbed the aims of the older sections of the country, and injected new political ideas, not entirely palatable to the conservatives, and framed for securing control of the government. History repeated itself, and Jeffersonian democracy gave place to that of Jackson.

Internal improvements became from this time on of little importance to the national government except as the personality of the President gave it a temporary place. Jackson vetoed measures, laying down the principle that the objects should be national and not local—a rule evidently difficult to apply. Even under this principle he would amend the constitution, "defining its character and prescribing its bounds." More than a decade later Polk made much the same suggestion, and with equal want of results; and with him the constitutional objection vanished.³³ When the land grants were made to the Pacific railroads

³²Memora, VIII. 100.

³³To reappear sporadically, as in the Republican national platform of June, 1916: "Interstate and intrastate transportation has become so interwoven that attempts to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public. The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under exclusive federal control."

the freedom of the government to aid such ventures was too well established to be shaken.

This is indeed ancient history—almost as ancient as the construction of the Roman aqueducts. Yet history merely records former phases of current problems, and this is no exception to the rule.

Of the four Virginians who had been President, Washington alone had a true conception of the permanent importance of the question, and he began with private enterprise—a company under a state incorporation. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe halted before the problem, conjuring up visions of increased powers, enlarged patronage, the added appeal to the weaker side of human nature, and the relaxing, if not the overthrow, of state authority. To them the constitutional question seemed of greatest importance, and they raised or neglected the question as seemed best to their party prospects. Adams feared no such restriction and looked ahead. In this he had the West with him at first; but the disposition of the public lands intervened, and the West accepted the bribe; the South took fear at the tariff question and sought refuge behind state rights pushed to implied rebellion; the North secured the tariff it wanted and looked coldly on a policy which must prove a greater benefit to other sections.

In this interim of hesitation and discussion the great opportunity slipped away. States held conventions on internal improvements, prepared their own reports and plans, appealed to private capital aided by state encouragement or participation, and the railroad proved its value above all other forms of transportation, even to a discouragement of road construction. The bent thus given could not be changed when the general government turned its back upon either encouragement or participation. In a

mad race to give the public lands to the people, in a contest to dominate commercially territory thus opened for settlement, and in a forgetfulness of interstate problems certain to arise, no matter what the means of transportation—government agency sank into nothing.

The interstate problems on transportation have been with us since that day, at times dormant, at times acutely threatening. It was a grandson of John Quincy Adams—the late Charles Francis Adams—who gave public recognition to the importance of those problems, and by building up a state railroad commission of powers and publicity led to the Interstate Commerce Commission, an agent still developing in function and of still undefined possibility. An Adams urged a national policy of internal improvements under the direction of the national government and failed; an Adams made the interposition of the government in one form of undertakings real and potent. Would the success of the elder man have saved much of the waste, the wreckage, the dishonesty, and the misapplication of our resources? Would it have saved the country much of its political misdirection, interested yet dubious ventures, pledges, public and private, broken to our shame at home and abroad, and public corruption that has been defended as a necessity? Would it have given us an organization of transportation that would save us from the frantic and futile panic drummed up on occasion for some special purposes—no matter whether this panic originated in labor, in capital, or in social reforms in advance of their day? From private ownership to government ownership of transportation facilities—the gap is wide. Would the Adams policy have served as a bridge? In war we see Great Britain take over the railroads in the mass. In a great strike our own government threatens to assume control of the roads and see

that trains run. In quiet times we have seen the roads harried by legislation and investigation, state and national, in the wish better to define and regulate their relations to government. In naming the railroad we name only one of the great public agencies, and the question involves the government regulation or ownership of all public utilities.³⁴ If the problem is now an economic one, it has its important historical relations; and I have sought to show that in the early part of the nineteenth century the opportunity came of inaugurating a policy by the national government capable of preventing much evil that has happened. If it had involved other evil, that is not enough to condemn it. Any policy would have been experimental. Natural monopolies should certainly come under the regulation or control of government; other monopolies require the same regulation; and in recognizing this, John Quincy Adams proved his political foresight and his truly national outlook.

³⁴Witness the railroad in Alaska and the assurance of control by the government of the coal lands in that territory.

KENTUCKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIANA

BY PROF. JAMES R. ROBERTSON, BEREA COLLEGE, KY.

In speaking on the subject assigned me this morning, I desire to express to Indiana, on this, the occasion of her one hundredth anniversary of statehood, the congratulations and good will of her older sister commonwealth to the south of the Ohio; and to wish her, in language suitable to the occasion, "many happy returns of the day."

In beginning my paper I find a phrase of Scripture so peculiarly fitting to my purpose that I quote it as an introduction to my subject. That well known phrase "For none of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself" is a profound and adequate statement of the interrelationship of individuals one with the other. It requires only a little consideration to realize, by adaptation, the truth of the statement that "No community, no state or nation lives to itself alone but that all are inseparably interrelated in a multitude of ways. It is my privilege, today, in speaking on "Kentucky's Contribution to Indiana" to give a concrete illustration of this great principle of human relationship.

Generally speaking internal conditions are indicated by external signs, and in handling the material which has been available for the preparation of this paper, I have found this to be true. I must, therefore, first bring to your attention some external signs of a deeper relationship in the life and development of Kentucky and Indiana.

I venture to say that it may come to many of you as something of a surprise that at least ten of the ninety-two counties on the map of your state bear the names of Kentucky men or of those who had close relation with the be-

ginnings of that commonwealth. Boone county perpetuates, on your own soil, the memory of that typical pioneer, pathfinder and forerunner of civilization, Daniel Boone. Clark county is a fitting memorial of George Rogers Clark, his memorable expedition to Vincennes, and the many expeditions into your country to tame the Indians and make settlement a possibility. Shelby county commemorates your regard for Isaac Shelby, a fighter in the period of the Revolution and the first governor of Kentucky. Fountain county was named for a Kentucky hero of the Indian Wars who fought at the battle of the Maumee and fell in 1790. Martin county was named for a Kentucky major of the same name who did valiant service in the Indian wars. Whitley county was named for a Kentucky colonel who gave up his life at the battle of the Thames. Allen county bears the name of a Kentucky lawyer and colonel who was killed in the fight at Raisin river. Daviess county was named for an early Kentucky lawyer and Indian fighter who named and dedicated Fort Harrison in 1822. Clay county is a fitting memorial to Kentucky's great political leader, whose broad and prophetic view of the great West and its place in national life made him a commanding figure and an exponent of its interests.

Such were some of the names placed upon your map, in different sections of your state and at different times. Is it too much for me to say that they are a perpetual acknowledgment on the part of your population, of a respect for, if not a recognition of indebtedness to, the men whose names they bear and the commonwealth to which they belonged?

Other signs of an inner relationship have occurred from time to time. I can mention only so many as will serve to illustrate my point. Throughout the history of the two

commonwealths there have occurred various exchanges of courtesy and civility such as only takes place between bodies of people that have much in common. In 1854 the governor of Kentucky, Thomas J. Crittendon, paid a visit to the governor of Indiana at Indianapolis and not long after, Joseph A. Wright, the Governor of Indiana, returned the visit and became a guest of the governor of Kentucky, a matter of no great significance but surely a sign of a community of interests; for we are told that this was the beginning of a sort of "entente cordial" between the two commonwealths that lasted for many years and held through trying conditions.

When the days of the Civil War came on, those days that proved the souls of men, those days that broke up families and communities, especially in the border states, we find the two commonwealths, on adjoining sides of the Ohio river giving expression to sentiments of mutual regard that hardly can be paralleled in the relation of communities.

Resolutions were passed by popular meetings in Perry county on the Indiana side and in Breckenridge county on the Kentucky side in January, 1861, on the anniversary of Jackson's victory at New Orleans. The purport and the spirit of these resolutions was summed up in the following paragraph from a newspaper of the day: "The Ohio river must never be the boundary line between contending nations. We have always lived upon terms of friendship with our Kentucky neighbors. If the time should ever come to trace on the map of our country the boundaries of new republics, the Ohio river cannot be one of these boundaries. Never!"

Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, appealed to Governor Morton of Indiana to join him in his policy of neutrality and in an effort of the border states to mediate the con-

flicting interests and thus avoid the war. Governor Morton denied the right of any commonwealth to act as mediator but⁴ appealed to Kentucky to stand loyal with the Union. The significance of his appeal lies in the fact that he based it, to quote his words, "on the ties of common kinship" on "the community interests" that had always existed between the two commonwealths lying in opposite sides of the Ohio valley. And in commenting on this the historian of one of your counties, Mr. Delahunt, says, "No other two of the border states had been bound together by links of such peculiar intimacy for more than two generations. With fraternal devotion, born as joint heirs of a Virginia heritage, Kentuckians had poured across the Ohio into Indiana forests to protect her scattered trading posts and punish the devastating Indians tormenting her pioneers through all the years from Fort Sackville to Tippecanoe; so with the passing years business connections became closer, constant trade more valuable and intermarriage strengthened by happier ties of family kinship."

Having placed before you the outer signs of an inner relationship let me seek to bring together in constructive form the bits of evidence I have been able to gather of a strong and effective influence of Kentucky on Indiana in her origin and in the process of her development as a state.

In the first place, I will venture to say that Kentucky's contribution to Indiana began long before there were settlers enough to make her a state or even a territory; and this was necessary in the very nature of the case because of Kentucky's priority of settlement. Certain conditions placed Kentucky in the line of least resistance as population began its long movement westward across the Allegheny mountains. Kentucky rapidly passed from a hunting ground to an abode for permanent settlers. Through

the agency of the "Transylvania Company," then under the jurisdiction of Virginia, little groups of settlers located on the rich lands of Kentucky. Though few in number they stood their ground through the threatening period of the Revolutionary War. In danger of being displaced through the mutual interests of Indians and English, they never could be dislodged, thanks to their own valor and the aid of George Rogers Clark and his Virginia companies. The year 1779 marked the beginning of a migration of population such as America had never seen before. A body of independent and resourceful people came together, many of them participants in the events of the war and possessed of qualities favorable for founding a commonwealth in the face of danger and hardship. By 1792 a commonwealth had come into existence, the first to the west of the mountains.

Already the interests and the very existence of Indiana were linked with that of Kentucky. Created a county of Virginia and part of the district of Kentucky, her first lieutenant, John Todd, Jr., was a Kentucky man. I cannot say in the light of recent critical study of England's relation to the region west of the Alleghenies that the very existence of Indiana on the map of the United States is due to the steadfast endurance of that little band on Kentucky's soil or to the splendid effort and achievement of Clark and his followers. History will eventually clear that question up. But I am here to maintain that the destinies of the two commonwealths were inseparably linked together and that Kentucky's population were fighting for the future of Indiana as well as for the future of their own state. The commonwealth of Kentucky, permanently established, became a center of determining influences on all adjoining commonwealths in their formative period.

It fell to the lot of Kentucky to bear the brunt of Indian problems that beset the early settlers of Indiana. During the period from 1776 to 1815 Kentuckians were unsparing in their contribution to the armies of men that tramped back and forth over Indiana soil and engaged in bloody combat. They did not always follow with loyalty some of the commanders under whom they had to serve. They did not, in all cases, behave as best comported with the tradition of the early Kentucky stock. But they were a most effective force in the accomplishment of results, and many a noble life was given in the cause.

It was likewise the task of Kentucky to strive for an open water channel to the sea. Whatever advantage there was to Kentucky in having the Mississippi river a free and common highway by which her products could be carried to their market, to Indiana the advantage was equally great. It was by this channel that she sent her surplus of corn, cattle, pork, oats, meal, chickens and beeswax to market, and this included from two-thirds to three-fourths of her production. It was no mean contribution to Indiana that the population of the older commonwealth carried so heavy a part of the fight for the open water channel, even risking her reputation for loyalty in the process.

Kentucky, moreover, had to work out those delicate problems of relation to the Union, which arose from the creation of new commonwealths west of the mountains, and the result which she achieved was a contribution to every other commonwealth which came after her. Kentucky had to struggle with land laws, with methods of laying out her territory and with titles to the same. The very mistakes which she made contributed much to the establishment of a better system for Indiana, beginning with the survey of Clark's grant. Forms of local government, court meth-

ods, currency experiments were tried by Kentucky and became matters of experience, to be handed on to the younger sister.

A settled commonwealth with its system of administration established with its land under cultivation, with a fund of capital already to some extent accumulated, with its mills for grinding grain and cutting lumber, with its churches and schools was of incalculable benefit to its growing neighbor across the river.

In the second place, if priority of settlement was cause of one train of contributing influences from Kentucky to Indiana, the proximity of location was the cause of another train of such influences. This it was which made possible the passing of a large stream of Kentucky population to Indiana. In this migration Kentucky was giving her very self. Here was something which was destined to appear in the very warp and woof of the commonwealth of Indiana forever. Kentucky has furnished population for a great many of our commonwealths and there are few places where "My Old Kentucky Home" can be started without instant response. In no place however, did the Kentucky population so naturally, so gradually enter and make themselves so much at home as on the soil of Indiana.

In the earliest time, when settlement was beginning in the region between the Wabash and the White rivers "most of the settlers came from Kentucky and Ohio," says one of your historians. The first stage line established in Indiana ran from the falls of the Ohio to the Wabash and was operated by a Kentucky man, Mr. Foyles, along the general line of the Baltimore and the Ohio road of today.

The "Clark Grant" was occupied by Kentuckians to a considerable extent. All along the border wherever there was a village or a town on the Kentucky side, population

drifted across the river. Sons and brothers remained on one side and sons and brothers crossed to the other. Daughters of Kentucky were sought in marriage and crossed to Indiana. Population came on from North Carolina, Tennessee or Virginia, stopped for a time in Kentucky and crossed the river.

As the line of movement for population into Indiana diverged in various directions, Kentucky population was close to the front. A large part of the land between the falls of the Ohio and Bloomington was occupied by Kentuckians. They were the first to find the fertile "Haw Patch," which corresponds to our own Blue Grass region. Many of the counties were started by Kentuckians, or included them among the earliest settlers. Thus we find John Kimberlin in Scott county in 1805; George Holmes, Richard Rice, and Thomas McCoy pioneers in Wayne county in 1810; Hugh McGary in Vanderburg county and President of the Board of Trustees of the village of Evansville. I have had neither the time nor opportunity to examine all the local histories and have given only a few cases to illustrate my point.

As late as 1850 there were twice as many southern people in Indiana as from the Middle States and New England and a good share of these were from Kentucky.

Finally, in seeking for the contribution of Kentucky to Indiana we must seek to evaluate the characteristics of that population that we may more fully realize the determining effect that it had. Generalizations are always dangerous and we may be sure that all of this population did not stand for the same things. There were differences in the population that came at different times and in the population that came from different parts of Kentucky. There was a difference between the population that was really

Kentuckian and that which sojourned there for a time on its way from Virginia, North Carolina or Tennessee.

However, one of your own historians has made a generalization of a large part of this population, constituting a backbone of the southern element that seems so well advised that I use it as an outline for the remainder of my paper. According to this characterization the major part of the population contributed by Kentucky to Indiana was poor but freedom loving, brilliant but uneducated, conservative, hostile to slavery, Protestant in religion and Jacksonian in politics.

For a moment let us assume that the Lincoln family was a type. This family answers the test of poverty. Anyone who has seen the old Lincoln farm near Hodgenville will wonder how it ever produced a living. Before it was secured as a memorial it was rented to a man for the taxes and his neighbors contended he had the worst of the bargain. The family came into Indiana with a borrowed team and with a stock of goods that included little more than a few kettles and pans. Yet the very fact of migration indicates an independent ambition to make a better home. The name, Abraham, given to the son signifies a religious strain somewhere in that group, a conclusion strengthened when we remember how that boy mastered the Book and how richly it illuminated his later addresses. Uneducated they surely were but there burned in one breast in that family a desire for knowledge which was finally acquired by his own exertions. And shall we not say that there was hostility to slavery when the very extinction of the whole system was embodied in that household? Every Kentuckian was a Democrat and almost every dweller on the poorer soil was a Jacksonian Democrat and the Lin-

coins were no exception to the rule, even though the promise of a new party was hidden in that home.

The population entering Indiana was poor in material things. In the earlier days there had been little distinction between the rich and the poor. Equality generally characterizes a pioneer population. As Kentucky grew older the population gradually divided. The part that lived on the better lands, grew prosperous and aristocratic and another part which lived on the poorer land, struggled hard for existence and remained poor. They were too independent to be happy in their life, side by side with the prosperous; they were ambitious enough to desire a betterment of circumstances. Professor Turner in his "Rise of the West" says: "The leaders of the southern element came in considerable measure but it was the poorer whites, the more democratic, non-slaveholding element of the South which furnished the great bulk of settlers north of the Ohio."

The population entering Indiana was lacking in education. Though uneducated this population was not lacking in mentality. I cannot in a paper of this scope, even enumerate the names of men of distinction in the affairs of Indiana who have risen from this source. A few names, taken here and there, from the earlier period of statehood may serve to make my point concrete. David C. Danaldson, born in Kentucky, in 1809, migrated to Indiana at the age of 26, became a resident of Terre Haute, entered the field of journalism and established the first daily newspaper in Indiana. Nathaniel Field, born in Kentucky, in 1805, migrated to Indiana at the age of twenty-four, became prominent as a physician and surgeon and president of the State Medical Society. Henry Lane, born in Kentucky in 1811, migrated to Indiana, became a lawyer, entered poli-

tics and was elected governor of the state in 1860 and was transferred to the United States Senate. John Esarey, born in Kentucky in 1783, migrated to Indiana in 1810 with his family. It was a grandson who withstood the confederate cavalry when, under the lead of Captain Hines, they made the first effort to invade the North in 1863. It was from this family that your own eminent historian has come, if I mistake not. The Milroys, of Carroll county, furnished two generals, one captain and one colonel to Indiana. Samuel Hanna was born in Kentucky in 1787, migrated with his father into Ohio and then into Indiana. He became identified with the development of Fort Wayne and a history of that city says of him that without mention of his name the history of the place could not be written and pays to him the high tribute of being a man who acquired a large fortune not by defrauding his fellow men either white or red, but by great business sagacity, indomitable industry and rigid economy. A population that produces men of leadership along various lines contributes the best that can be contributed by one community to another.

The population that migrated from Kentucky to Indiana was essentially religious. Although Indiana until 1834 was a part of the Catholic diocese which had its ecclesiastical center at Bardstown in Kentucky, but a small part of the people who crossed the river were Catholics. It was a Protestant population. As early as 1798 a Baptist church was established at Owen's creek on the Indiana side and looked to the old Salem church for its organization. In 1809 the Maria Creek Baptist church was founded. Its pastor, Isaac McCoy, was son of a Kentucky family and his father was present to assist in the ordination. This pioneer preacher traveled as the records tell us from fort to fort "trusting in God and armed with his Bible and

musket." These early Baptists took their religion in a serious manner if we may judge from an entry in the record of the church in 1814. Here it is noted that John Hanbrough, living in Indiana, but a member of a church in Kentucky was guilty of the use of "profane language" and they voted to write to the church informing it of his misconduct.

Methodism was even stronger among this Kentucky population of Indiana. Many of the noted preachers of that time visited Indiana and rarely has there been a more able group of men than the one which gathered in Kentucky in the closing years of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th. Among these were Peter Cartwright and Benjamin Lakin. The first Methodist church was organized in Clark's grant in 1808. Circuit riders from Kentucky included Indiana in their circuits. Sometimes they had to swim the river and sometimes they crossed in boats. A unique record makes mention of a payment by General Harrison for the loss of a boat and a hat by a preacher, who chanced to bear the name of the author of this paper. He had battled with the untrustworthy elements of the Ohio river and was worsted in the attempt. From that day to this Methodism has continued in the lead among the religious denominations of Indiana and gives this church a larger part of the church going population than any state in the North. Presbyterianism was likewise early in the field. The Transylvania synod voted to send "missionaries" to Indiana and for some years the region north of the Ohio was a part of the Louisville presbytery.

The Kentucky population that came to Indiana was in the main an anti-slavery population. For a time a slave holding population had tried as in Ohio and Illinois to break down the provision of the ordinance of 1787 that forbade the bringing in of slaves. By a law of 1803 it was pro-

vided that all persons coming into the territory under contract to serve another must fulfill this contract. Slave holders would free their slaves in form and make with them a contract for labor that came within the terms of the law. A law of 1804 made it even easier to hold a slave in Indiana. The laws, however, were repealed by 1810, and most of the slave holding population went in another direction to the west and southwest.

In the decade from 1830 to 1840 the slave system took a deeper hold on Kentucky and much of her best population left the state to get away from the social and industrial conditions that prevailed. The institution which I serve had its origin in an effort to provide educational facilities for this class of people, that they might not leave. Professor Turner in his "Rise of the West" says: "In both Indiana and Illinois the strength of opposition to slavery came from the poorer whites, particularly from the Quakers and Baptist element of the Southern stock.

The sentiment of anti-slavery was voiced in the constitution of that old Baptist church to which I referred. The article reads, "We believe that African slavery as it exists in some parts of the United States is unjust in its origin and oppressive in its consequences and is inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel." Dr. Nathaniel Field, a Kentucky man, was a leading advocate of anti-slavery and president of the Anti-slavery Convention of Indiana and the Free Soil Convention of 1850. He was likewise the author of a tract against slavery entitled "Onesimus." Henry Clay, so generally popular in the Kentucky population was not liked by the anti-slavery Kentuckians of Indiana. When he was campaigning in Indiana and speaking at Richmond in 1842 he was waited on by a committee who

handed him a petition requesting that he free his slaves or explain his position.

In early Kentucky the population was almost entirely Democratic. As the state grew older the Whig party gained a place, especially in the richer parts of the state. Henry Clay, the leader of this party, was a representative of the older Virginia element, which had always lived among slaves, in opulence and accustomed to adjust themselves to the conditions which they did not approve. Internal improvements, a tariff for a home market and expansion of territory for more land were in line with their interests; on these issues the Whig party came into being.

Andrew Jackson, the opponent and enemy of Clay, was the representative of the newer spirit of the West and particularly of the interests of the great mass of the poorer class who lived on the thinner soils and had little voice in the management of affairs. Therefore, the dwellers on the poorer soil were ardent Democrats of the Jacksonian school and continued such until the Civil War. The county adjoining the one in which I live is a typical mountain section and bears the name of Jackson. With most of the mountain counties of Eastern Kentucky it voted Democratic in the famous election of 1860 and believed it was voting the principles of Andrew Jackson when it cast its vote for John C. Breckenridge, for the mountaineers were certainly not secessionists. Your own state was a supporter of Jackson and the southern population kept it Democratic until 1860, except in the elections of 1836 and 1840 when it turned aside to vote for Harrison and Tyler, the nominees of the Whig party, and on both of these occasions the people of Kentucky joined the people of Indiana in voting for the "old hero of Tippecanoe."

I cannot close without a brief mention of love of country

life which was cherished by the population of Kentucky. It is essentially a rural state today. Wherever its population has gone they have carried with them this love for the open country. To them and the people of other southern states who crossed the river may be attributed the fact that Indiana has the smallest per cent of urban population of any of the states carved out from the old Northwest territory.

I would not leave you with the impression that Kentucky has contributed nothing but good to her neighbors across the river. I am well aware that, at times, she must have been the source of much annoyance. An old court record of 1827 preserved the fact that two Kentucky gentlemen crossed the Ohio river and "with force and arms did fight a duel" and that too with "rifle loaded, with powder and ball", an act "contrary to the dignity and peace of Indiana." In this we have but a hint of acts of lawlessness which have doubtless occurred too often. In the days preceding the war when the slavery question was so tense Indiana was a ready road to liberty and the pursuit of fugitive slaves gave rise to acts of violence; nor should we forget that a Kentuckian was responsible for the greatest scare that Indiana ever experienced, when John H. Morgan crossed the Ohio with his band and aroused your population to unwonted activity.

The one hundredth anniversary of statehood finds Indiana a commonwealth of commanding influence; she is the center of population for the United States, a pivotal point in political importance, resourceful in agriculture, growing in volume of manufactured products, strong in schools and churches, modern in social administration. With a population combining the characteristics of the southern people

and the northern there is a happy blend of conservatism and progress.

We, in Kentucky, look over the river to you expecting to receive from you in the future as you have received from us in the past. Already you have done much. Your men helped to keep Kentucky loyal to the Union. You have sent us wagons for our farms, and stoves for our kitchens. But we are looking for more. We need your help in the solution of problems that confront a fine but conservative commonwealth.

ORGANIZING A STATE

BY DR. LOGAN ESAREY, BLOOMINGTON, IND.

Few things are more interesting or more sought after by historians than the story of the formation of states. Outside of America the processes of state making are involved in the mystery of antiquity. Even in America we must come to the western states to get the full light of history on the process.

We are now celebrating the centennial anniversary of that event in Indiana. Once in a century, at least, it is worth while for us to re-read the account of our statehood birth. The event is largely personal and the result largely due to the personality of the Constitution makers. Necessarily those who make the first constitution of a state are pioneers and few pioneers are men of political experience. The first constitution of a state is very liable to be, then, merely the crystallization of the public sentiment of the time. This was especially true of Indiana. So far as the writer knows, no member of the constitutional convention of 1816 had had any political experience worth speaking of, except the speaker of the convention, Jonathan Jennings, and Benjamin Parke, both of whom had sat in Congress as territorial delegates from Indiana. In accounting for their work, then, it is as necessary to understand the political ideas prevalent at the time as to know the personalities of the men. It is hardly worth while to say that no one of the members had made an extended study of the science of politics as Madison had done in 1787. The origin of each provision of the constitution is to be found in the political philosophy of the times rather than in the

thought of any individual. The convention members were as a rule the earliest settlers of their communities but nevertheless a large majority were young men. Most of them had had some experience in office, though the office had usually been a minor one.

As stated above, Jonathan Jennings and Benjamin Parke had sat as delegates in Congress. William Cotton of Vevay, James Scott of Jeffersonville, Daniel C. Lane of Corydon, Patrick Shields of Harrison county, John Badollet and Benjamin Parke of Vincennes, Solomon Manwaring of Lawrenceburg, James Noble and William H. Eads of Brookville, Dann Lynn of Posey county, Charles Polke of Perry county, Daniel Grass of Warrick county, Nathaniel Hunt and Samuel Smock of Madison, had served as local judges, an office comparing with our justice of the peace. James Scott, James Dill and James Noble had been prosecutors. James Lemon of Clarksville, Davis Floyd of Jeffersonville, and Robert Hanna of Brookville, had served as sheriffs. At least half the members were justices of the peace at the time. James Lemon, John DePauw of Harrison county, Benjamin Parke, James Noble, Enoch McCarty of Franklin county, Daniel Grass, James Smith, David Robb and Samuel Smock were field officers in the militia and William Polke, Benjamin Parke, Davis Floyd, David Robb, and perhaps John Johnson had been on the Tippecanoe campaign. David H. Maxwell was a young physician who had served with the rangers under Dunn and William Lowe was a young attorney. John Johnson of Vincennes had served in the territorial legislature and had assisted John Rice Jones to revise the laws of the territory in 1807. John Badollet was a Swiss companion of Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury under Jefferson, who had appointed him register of the land office at Vincennes

Frederick Rapp was owner of New Harmonie and loaned the convention \$10,000 to meet its expenses. William Polke, Charles Polke and Ezra Ferris were Baptist preachers. Hugh Cull had a state-wide reputation as a Methodist preacher, Jeremiah Cox of Richmond was a Quaker. All but Parke, Johnson and Badollet were farmers, Ezra Ferris was a school teacher, as was also Solomon Manwaring. Joseph Holman served in the War of 1812 while his family lived in his blockhouse where Centerville later stood. Dennis Pennington was a stone mason and had built the house in which the convention met. Benefiel, Rapp and Badollet were Swiss; DePauw was a Frenchman whose father, Charles DePauw, came over during the Revolution, with Lafayette. Lemon, Dill, Shields, Cull, Baird, Devin and Robb were Irish. Several were Pennsylvania Dutch, the remainder Scotch and English by blood. All were intensely American. Cotton, Floyd, Johnson and Smith were born in Virginia; Pennington, Boone, Shields, DePauw, the two Polkes, Noble, Holman, Maxwell and Lowe were born in Kentucky; Jennings was from Pennsylvania, Parke from New Jersey, Ferris, a Yankee from Connecticut, Cox was from the Quaker district of North Carolina, Cull was born in Maryland, McCarty came from Tennessee, Hanna from South Carolina, Badollet from Switzerland, and Dill and Robb were born where the Shamrock blooms. Not one, of course, was a native Hoosier. In training, tradition and sentiment they were all typical western folks. Jeremiah Cox was a founder of Richmond; Daniel Grass was the founder of Rockport, John K. Graham surveyed New Albany for the Scribners; Frederick Rapp owned New Harmonie. It could hardly be said of any one of them that he was a public man. Not one of them ever became famous. If one were choosing the first

half dozen of our citizens he would hardly choose a single member of this body. A number of them represented the state in Congress, three sat in the United States Senate, but it cannot be said that any of them became known nationally. On the other hand the record does not disclose a single bad man. It is said that each of the forty-three members, when called upon, could preside gracefully over the convention in committee of the whole. There were no recognized leaders and no considerable attempt on the part of any one was made to arrogate leadership to himself. Anyone at all acquainted with such men as Parke, Johnson, Scott, the five preacher members, with Maxwell, Pennington, Cotton, Floyd and their kind, and all were very much alike, would know that no political jockeying or buncombe addresses would be in order.

It was one of the shortest conventions on record, judged from all standpoints. The Enabling Act was signed April 19; the members of the convention were elected May 13; they met June 10; the convention adjourned June 29; the constitution was not ratified by the voters; August 5, a state and county election was held; the first assembly convened November 4; the Congressmen and Senators were present when Congress opened December 2, and the state was declared a member of the Union December 9. In other words it was conceived April 19, born June 10, christened June 29, confirmed November 4 and received in full communion December 9, 1816. There was no extraordinary haste in these matters but one is compelled to say they made good time considering the state of the roads and the lack of means to spread information.

While it must be conceded that the forty-three men who gathered at Corydon June 10 were a representative body and composed of the ordinary men of the territory it

should also be kept in mind in considering their work that they understood the workings of the territorial government thoroughly, appreciating both its good and bad features. Each of them had a fair acquaintance with the government of some other state and apparently not one of them came to the convention with any grudge against any particular government or possessed with any pet political theory which prevented him from fairly considering any proposition presented. The members would have made such a jury as any man could have safely trusted with his case in court.

When they assembled they discovered a lack of literature on the subject, so a purse of \$50.00 or \$75.00 was raised in Corydon and a man sent to Louisville to buy what could be had in that town. It would be interesting to know what books were thus purchased but the names of them have not been preserved. It is sure they had copies of the constitutions of most of the states including that of the United States. It may be that this was the material bought.

The records have left us no detailed account of their proceedings. Only the clerk's formal report of the convention was printed. If any man ever became enthusiastic enough to make a speech the report of it has not come down to us. Only indirectly are we permitted to pass the veil and see the solemn council at work.

The convention met and organized on the morning of the tenth of June. Thirty-nine members were present. They adopted as their own the rules governing the territorial legislature. Three committees were appointed at this time to draw up regulations concerning the various activities of the convention, after which they adjourned till 3 P. M. It seems most of the members stayed at a tavern kept by Jake Conrad, a Pennsylvania Dutchman, about a mile east of town on the trail leading from the falls to Vincennes.

On the following morning at 4 A. M., James Dill, a lawyer from Lawrenceburg, reported twenty-seven rules for the government of the convention. This report was amended by the convention in a way which shows that they were alert. The original rule had required a two-thirds vote to do business but the convention changed it to a majority, an early prophecy of Jacksonian Democracy. A messenger was then started for Louisville to have one hundred copies of the standing rules printed. Louisville, perhaps the nearest printing press, was some fifty miles away through the woods across the Ohio river.

On Wednesday morning it was decided to divide the convention into twelve grand committees, each of which was to report a draft for an article of the Constitution. In the afternoon at three o'clock President Jennings announced the committees. The convention was thus down to its work on the third day. In these appointments, we may get the president's opinion of the best men in the convention, or perhaps in some cases merely his personal friends. The committee on the Bill of Rights was headed by the Swiss, Badollet; that on the Distribution of Powers by John Johnson, the best lawyer then present and formerly a political enemy of the president; that on the Legislative Department by James Noble, a political ally of the president as long as he lived; that on the Executive by John K. Graham, a neighbor of the president; that on the Judiciary by James Scott, also a neighbor of the president; that on Impeachment by James Dill; that on General Provisions by David Maxwell, also a neighbor of the president, very possibly his physician; that on Revision by Robert Hanna, that on Changing to a State Government by Davis Floyd, also an old neighbor of the president; that on Education by James Scott, a neighbor of the president and also Scott's

second chairmanship; that on the Militia by James Dill, his second chairmanship; that on Elections and the Franchise by Ezra Ferris. One might, by putting his ear to the ground, have heard some grumbling among the old buckskin statesmen as they lounged in the shade around Conrad's spring that evening, sipping Conrad's whisky and nipping the peppermint that grew in the spring branch and discussing the committee assignments. Clark county got the president of the convention and four of the twelve chairmanships.

These committees were appointed after three o'clock Wednesday, yet Mr. Johnson reported his article the next morning at nine o'clock. Johnson, it will be remembered, was from Kentucky and his article on the Distribution of Powers was taken from the Kentucky Constitution of 1799 almost verbatim. Ezra Ferris, the Yankee pedagogue, was also ready with his report on the Franchise. He evidently did not have a copy of the Connecticut constitution, or had taken a fancy to the Ohio law, while a resident of Cincinnati, for he copied his article in toto from the Ohio constitution, making two little changes all his own. He changed the method of voting in the Ohio law from ballot voting to viva voce, but the convention reversed him and his article was adopted an almost verbatim copy of the Ohio law. Mr. Ferris also had made the residence requirement for voting six months; but the convention put it back to one year as in Ohio. However, the taxpaying requirements for voting under the Ohio law were cut out.

Mr. Noble likewise reported his draft for the Legislative Department. He also deserted his native state of Kentucky and copied the twenty-eight sections of the article of the Ohio constitution without substantial change, and in many places line after line is the same. The first section

hasn't a single word changed. John Badollet took his, the second article of the Constitution from the Ohio document word for word. It is merely the statement of the age old maxims of English popular government. In the case of the judiciary we are able to make out to some extent the working of the convention. The territorial bar of Indiana was well satisfied on one feature of the new supreme court. The territorial lawyers had had enough of an appellate court that was both *nisi prius* and appellate. They were prepared to go beyond either the constitution of the United States or that of any one of the states in this matter. In the former case a limited sphere had been set off in which the United States had original jurisdiction. In the constitution of 1792 in Kentucky the supreme court had been given original and exclusive jurisdiction in all cases arising out of land titles. This provision had been omitted in the constitution of 1799 but with the significant and dangerous proviso that the legislature might confer original jurisdiction.

In the 1802 constitution of Ohio the supreme court had been left almost entirely at the mercy of the legislature. It was given original and appellate jurisdiction at common law and chancery in such cases as the legislature might specify. This applied to both civil and criminal jurisdiction. It was further specified that the supreme court should hold at last one session annually in each county. This constitution retained the very features that had proved so obnoxious in territorial Indiana.

The judiciary committee of the Indiana Constitutional Convention was composed of James Dill, of Dearborn; Samuel Milroy, of Washington; James Noble, of Franklin; William Cotton, of Switzerland and William Lowe, of Washington. All these men were lawyers but

Milroy and he may have been. Benjamin Parke, of Knox, arrived on the fourth day of the convention and was placed on the judiciary committee. He seems to have completely changed the attitude of the committee. He may have been added for that purpose. It had been previously dominated by Scott and Johnson but from the 14th on it seems to have been dominated by Parke.

On the morning of June 17, Chairman Scott, of the judiciary committee reported. The second section of this report read as follows:

"The Supreme Court shall consist of three judges, and shall have appellate jurisdiction only; which shall be co-extensive with the state, under such restrictions and regulations not repugnant to this constitution, as may from time to time be prescribed by law."

This section is taken almost word for word from the Kentucky constitution of 1799. The two changes are first, the limitation on the number of judges, and second, the limitation of the jurisdiction.

Section four of Scott's report provided as did the Kentucky constitution, that the judges should hold office during good behavior.

Section five follows the Kentucky constitution. "The judges of the Supreme Court shall, by virtue of their offices, be conservators of the peace throughout the state."

Section six directed that the Supreme Court should hold its sessions at the seat of government, at such times as should be prescribed by law.

Section seven, again following the Kentucky constitution, gave the power of appointing judges to the governor, subject to the consent of the Senate. In Ohio by the constitution of 1802, the judges were all elected by the legislature for a term of seven years.

On June 20, the article on the judiciary was taken from the committee of the whole after it had considered it one session and referred to a select committee composed of Benjamin Parke, Joseph Holman, William Cotton, John Benefel, James Dill and William Lowe. What the difficulty was does not appear. There may be no significance in the change, but the new committee was strictly anti-slavery and more favorable to the Ohio influence.

On June 22, Mr. Parke, chairman of the new judiciary committee made a report. Section 2 was amended by inserting that two judges should constitute a quorum. This was the law in Ohio. Section 4 was changed so that the judges were to be selected for a term of seven years, though their appointment was left as before.

On second reading, June 24, a number of amendments were offered, only one of which affected the Supreme Court. This motion by Robert Hanna, of Franklin, provided that the Supreme Court be not organized till 1824; in the meantime the presiding judges of the circuit courts should hold at stated times and places courts of errors and appeals. A vote on this was demanded by the mover, which resulted in eight to thirty-three against the amendment. In general, the lawyers all opposed this amendment, which would have embodied exactly that feature of the territorial supreme court which was most obnoxious to them.

On June 25, David Robb, of Gibson county, moved to amend section two by inserting instead of "three judges", "one or more judges as the General Assembly shall from time to time prescribe by law." This was plainly an attempt to cater to those who feared the new government was going to be too expensive. From the general standpoint of political science the motion was sound; but it was voted down, twenty-five to sixteen.

On the 27th, the article, as it came from the hands of the special committee, was passed without a division. Only one serious change would be suggested by the experience of the thirty-six years of its life. That would be a life tenure of the judges. There is no doubt but this question was discussed and there is no doubt that the sentiment of the convention was decisively against it. The general distrust of the government which was at the foundation of Jeffersonian democracy was prevalent throughout the West. The modifications made in the Ohio article from which this was taken assure us that every part of it was well considered. Its later history has left us little room to criticize the basic law of the old Supreme Court.

It is needless, however, to go farther into this examination. The convention had before it the constitutions of the neighboring states and from them carefully pieced out a constitution that suited it. Every committee report can easily be traced to its origin in some state constitution. Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Virginia seem to have been drawn on in the order given. The changes made in committee of the whole consist in sections taken from still other sources. However, every section seems to have been fully discussed. After Judge Parke arrived his influence can be seen on the Committee of General Revision. He was the most virile character in the convention. The literary form of the constitution compares very favorably with that of any constitution then in existence. Its straightforward English far surpasses that of the old New England constitutions. There were other matters of duty and interest which came before the convention, besides merely making a constitution. A state government had to be organized and put on foot. Contemporary documents give us unmistakable hints that some of these provoked

sharp divisions. There was continual talk of moving the capital. One of the urgent reasons for moving it was the lack of hotel accommodations. Not only at the convention but at sessions of the General Assembly before and after the convention, large numbers of the members, perhaps a majority, were compelled to go to the forks of the road and put up with Jake Conrad. The territorial assembly had censured General Posey for residing at Jeffersonville, but a fortnight's time spent by the members at Corydon had tempered their resentment so that they inserted the following provision in the constitution:

That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to affect the residence of the governor for the space of six months and until buildings suitable for his accommodations shall be procured at the expense of the state.

When that proviso was written in the constitution there was little doubt in the mind of the president who would be the first governor. The people of Corydon were put to their last effort to retain the capital. The question of a governor's residence was solved by one of its patriotic citizens. The following communication to the General Assembly, December 16, 1820, will suggest the solution:

During the session of the Convention of 1818 a citizen of Harrison County contracted with that body to furnish a convenient dwelling house and suitable outbuildings for the use of the executive of the state so long as Corydon should remain the temporary seat of its government.

In consequence of those conveniences not having been provided the tenements of another individual have been rented and occupied during two years past, and the consideration for the use of such property has been liquidated in part by the party bounden in the contract to which allusion has been made.

The constitution of 1816 provided that:

Corydon in Harrison County shall be the seat of government of the State of Indiana until 1825, and until removed by law.

The price of that section was one thousand dollars, for the payment of which a number of the citizens of Harrison county executed a bond to the state. This bond evidently was to run for two years for at the end of about that time the treasurer of state was instructed to bring suit to recover it. In the Harrison circuit court the state secured judgment against the bondsmen, but the treasurer, Mr. Lane, a citizen of Harrison county, and perhaps a bondman reported that both the sheriff and the coroner were bondmen and there was no one to execute the order of court. The supreme court in 1820 reversed the circuit court for some reason and little of the money was ever collected.

The following resolution was offered in the House, January 18, 1825:

"Resolved, That the auditor of public accounts, secretary of state and treasurer of state, be requested to attend in the Representative Hall, on Monday, the 24th of this instant, prepared to give to this House, every information they may be in possession of, relative to a bond heretofore given to the governor, for the use of the state, under an agreement between the members of the convention and the citizens of Corydon, at the formation of the constitution; in pursuance of which, it was agreed, and consequently a provision inserted in said constitution, fixing the seat of government at Corydon, until the year 1825; also, what proceedings have been taken for the collection of said bond; and that accompanying which information, they furnish this House with a copy of said bond."

H-J-1825-77.

I have not followed the amusing thread further. The following editorial from the *Corydon Gazette*, December 14, 1820, shows this question from another angle:

"The old famous resolution to remove the legislature to Charleston or some other place, where it is imagined members can get boarding lower than at Corydon, is going the formal rounds of legislation, when it is understood that no more is intended by it than to beat down the price of boarding. This scheme has too often been resorted to, and is too well understood by the landlords in Corydon to have the desired effect. It is our opinion that from the reduced prices of the necessaries of life, that the price of boarding might be somewhat depressed, but we see no good reason why those who are so clamorous about the insolvency of the banks, should complain of the price of boarding, when they will pay nothing but the depreciated paper, which, as they say, is worth nothing. If they would pay in specie, they might board as cheap as they could wish. The people will never understand that economy which will require them to pay two or three hundred dollars for the time spent in legislating on the resolution, which by the best arguments yet produced, it could only save the pockets of the individual members, a few cents per week, in depreciated bank paper."

The following vote will show who of the representatives are disposed to economize time and consequently public money.

"This house proceeded to consider the resolution on the subject of adjoining the two houses of the General Assembly to Charleston in Clark county.

Mr. Sullivan of Jeffersonville, moved that the further consideration of said resolution be indefinitely postponed; and on the question being put, the ayes and noes being de-

manded by Messrs. Tipton and Holman, those who voted in the affirmative were Messrs. Battell, Crawford, Green, Hay, Holman, John Merrell, Sullivan of Jefferson, Tipton and Zenor—11.

Those who voted in the negative were: Messrs. Clark, Chambers, Ferris, Gibson, Goudie, Grass, Hanna, M'Donald, Milroy, Powell, Robb, Ross, Sullivan of Knox, Yandes and Graham (Speaker)—16."

Editorial, *Corydon Gazette*, December 14, 1820, p. 3:

"Before discussing the general system of government provided for by this constitution, I wish to notice a strange tradition that hangs over the work of this convention, which is that there was a severe struggle to prevent Indiana becoming a slave state. In the first place, Indiana formed her constitution under the compact theory by which Congress through an Enabling Act permitted the state to form a constitution. Neither Ohio, Kentucky nor Tennessee had Enabling Acts and so made their constitutions without congressional restriction. It was specified in this Enabling Act for Indiana 'That the constitution, whenever formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant to those articles of the Ordinance of 1787 which are declared to be irrevocable'. The ordinance forbade slavery. On the second day of the session the convention decided to accept the proposition of Congress and make a constitution. It couldn't make the constitution and permit slavery. Thirty-four members favored this and eight opposed. Certainly those who opposed, Boone, Hunt, Johnson, Maxwell, William Polke, Robb, Rappe and Smock, did not favor slavery. On the fourth day of the session the president laid before the convention a memorial from the Quakers praying the exclusion of slavery and that Quakers be exempted from military service in times of peace. Mr. Robb, a personal

friend of General Harrison moved to refer the slavery part of the memorial to the committee on General Provisions, of which he was chairman, and the military part to the committee on the military. This was taken by consent. Either the convention and its president were asleep or else were acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Robb. Otherwise this important question would not thus lightly have been referred to this committee." There is no further notice of this subject until the report of the committee on General Provisions was made June 20 by David Maxwell. Mr. Maxwell was the only educated man on the committee and doubtless for that reason read the report. There is in the Journal no evidence of discussion. On June 24, this provision was taken up in committee of the whole and the indenture clause stricken out and on June 27, the provision was sent to Revision (a committee to look after the English) without a division. So far as I can find there is no indication of any attempt, never so puny, to put a clause in the constitution permitting slavery. It is very doubtful if there was a single member of the convention who even if he had favored slavery, would have had the temerity to propose such a thing. Neither were the members rabid anti-slavery men. Doctor Maxwell who, doubtless, wrote the section prohibiting slavery, had been reared by a Kentucky slave owner and, as a young man, had owned a slave and had brought colored servants with him to Indiana.

The government provided for by this constitution was very simple and inexpensive. In its nature the constitution approached very near to what is now thought to be the best both in its general form and the principles it embodied. It was a short document confined to general principles rather than to specific directions. It occupies eleven pages as compared with fourteen for our present constitution; or

fifteen in that of Iowa in 1846; or eighteen in that of Kansas in 1857; or twelve in that of Kentucky of 1799; or eighteen in that of Kentucky of 1850; and it is less than one-fourth the length of the modern state constitution of the Oklahoma type.

The politics of the constitution is a somewhat modified form of Jeffersonian Republicanism. All property qualifications for voting disappear for the first time in an American constitution. A larger proportion of the public officers were chosen by popular vote than was usual in the other states. The terms of office were made short and hence elections frequent. The constitution did not provide for a single life office, the judges holding for seven years being the longest in tenure. The whole government was brought nearer popular control than had been done up to that time. It was the most democratic government in the world in 1816.

As was the case in all American governments from the Revolution to the Civil War the preponderance of power was in the hands of the legislative bodies. What we have lately discovered and heralded as a great agent of reformation, the short ballot was substantially provided for. On the state ticket there were only two candidates, governor and lieutenant-governor. In reality only the governor. On the county ticket only two, besides the clerk of the circuit court, the sheriff and the coroner, and the latter had no duty except to become sheriff when that officer could not act. In the township the trustee was elected together with whatever number of justices the county commissioners thought necessary. The whole list then of real offices would include the governor, member of the legislature, associate judges or county commissioners, sheriff and clerk, trustees and justices. This ancient simplicity did not long

survive however. The first gusts of Jacksonian Democracy were already in the atmosphere. The legislature as noted above was given the whip hand. It elected the state treasurer, state auditor and secretary of state; it selected the circuit judges and the prosecutors. Its Ways and Means Committee made up the annual budget in a way that would be very interesting to those good people who now want us to re-adopt that system. It was a good thing then, however it may be now. The supreme judges were appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. The executive was very weak until the Democratic governors, Whitcomb and Wright, asserted their power. The associate judges or county commissioners ruled the county and township much as the General Assembly ruled the state. They laid off the county into townships, ordered the election of justices and constables, appointed listers to prepare schedules of property for taxation, appointed fence viewers to see that the fences were high enough to prevent cattle from jumping over and close enough to prevent pigs and geese going through the cracks, laid out the road districts, opened roads, built courthouses, whipping posts, pillories, jails, poor houses, pounds and prison bounds and for fear that that was not enough they were authorized by law to transact any other county business not provided for, especially levying county taxes and paying out the money.

Just one more glance at this pioneer government. The pioneers soon developed a remarkable weakness for election. It was thought during the thirties and forties that more popular elections was the panacea for everything. The constitution of 1850 was framed when this wave was at its height. In the Revision of 1838 it was provided that the voters of the township elect on the first Monday of April three township trustees, a township treasurer,

township clerk, two overseers of the poor, two fence viewers, one road supervisor for each road district, and one constable for each justice. This made a ticket of at least fifteen candidates to be elected every year in the spring.

In the county there were three commissioners to be elected to serve three year terms, but one of them had to be elected each year. This, the county election, was held on the first Monday of August at which, annually, representatives to the state legislature had to be elected, every year one-third of the state senators, every third year, a governor; a county clerk and two associate justices every seven years.

Finally on the first Monday of November every two years a congressman had to be elected and on the same day every four years a President of the United States. Two elections every year and three elections every second year. Our fathers certainly were well practiced in elections.

A community is not organized when the state is set in running order. The political organization is the fundamental one but it would leave society barren indeed were it alone. There are scores of ties that bind citizens together, many of which, if not so strong, are far closer and dearer. The political organization rests on these less powerful organizations which in turn make it worth while. A state without schools, churches, industrial and fraternal societies, would be like a tree without fruit or foliage and even if it lived would hardly be worth cultivating. Even an Indian village would be preferable as a place in which to live.

Our centennial forefathers understood this quite as well as we and even under the territorial government had begun to build up these smaller and richer social organizations.

As noted in another place they had begun with the century and by 1830 every community had provided a place where its people might worship with congenial associates. It required far more sacrifice to build up and maintain this church organization than that of the state. It was decidedly more pleasant for instance to go as a judge on circuit at \$1,500 per year than to go as a preacher on circuit at \$150 per year.

If the state was to be maintained some system of education must be organized and administered. The law makers did their full share and provided in the constitution for a system which was a marvel to the older states. The federal government had lent a hand by donating one-thirty-second of all the public land in the state. This, unaided, proved entirely inadequate for the support of the common schools. Yet they were left for a third of a century to a meagre subsistence on this and the voluntary contributions of the charitably inclined. By law they had in every congressional township at least one district school; in fact they had as many and such schools as were organized and supported privately. In each county the law provided for a seminary; in fact they had a seminary if private funds could be raised to carry it on. They founded a university which existed without support for almost half a century while the churches had to step in and shoulder the burdens of public education by founding colleges, academies and private schools. As late as 1845 the governor sought in vain for any evidence of a school system in the state and as late as 1850 Caleb Mills spoke of the public schools of the state as a disgrace. In 1848 thirty-one counties voted against free schools. In 1849 twenty-nine counties voted in a state referendum against taxing themselves for common schools. In 1850 there were 75,017 illiterate grown

persons in Indiana, one out of every seven. The number had increased 37,000 during the preceding decade. But we need not pursue this line further. Much as our fathers regretted it, they failed to build up an educational system.

They did better with their military system. Every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 45 was regularly disciplined. The men of each county were organized into a regiment which met in October of each year for regimental drill. The county was divided into districts usually coinciding with the township in each of which was a company. These troops met every two months. Four companies drilled together as a battalion once a year in April. The militia drills or muster days so long as Indians lived east of the Mississippi, were an important feature of the state life.

A state wide medical society was organized in 1819. Separate subordinate societies were organized in each congressional district. Each district board had the power to examine prospective doctors and license them to practice. The law did not prevent any one from practicing without a license but did prevent them using the courts for collecting fees for their service. One must not get an exaggerated idea of the physicians of the time. They performed to the best of their ability a very difficult and trying work. They had little scientific training and for the most part depended on local nostrums and one or two drugs. The physicians in best repute depended almost entirely on calomel. Another class, the so-called "yarb doctors" depended on concoctions made of native herbs. The one stand-by of this kind was lobelia. So common was the use of this with them that they were commonly called the "lobelia doctors." One can hardly realize the amount of this kind of medicine consumed in the pioneer

days. Most of it went under the name of "bitters." In fact the medicine was not considered effective unless it was bitter. Mullein, catnip, hoarhound, elder blossoms, boneset, May apple, cherry bark, bitter-sweet, honey locust, lobelia, sour dock, ditney, pennyroyal, senna and a score of others were in constant use. Each of these in the preparation was mixed with whiskey, the proportion being about sixteen to one in favor of the whisky. Every family kept a jug of "bitters" in the house. So firm was the hold of these medicines on our ancestors that there are still those among us who have inherited the practice and take Peruna with excellent results.

The other important profession was that of the law. The lawyers had a task no less difficult than the preachers. Pioneer society is not noted for its obedience to and respect for courts. Indiana was no exception. It had an abundance of gamblers, horse-thieves, hog-thieves and other criminals including a goodly number of murderers.

The great bulk of the court work fell on the circuit court. The constitution gave it almost a state wide jurisdiction over all trials at law. Over it was the circuit judge with power unchallenged. In the early days there were only three circuits. Let us take a trip with Judge Hall over the first district about 1820. He spent two weeks at Vincennes then passed on to Princeton, from there he took the Ohio river trail to Springfield, county seat of Posey, where there was a log court house in the woods, from there to Darlington, a little village on the Ohio river above Evansville; thence on up the river to Rockport where Daniel Grass had laid out a little settlement as a beginning for Spencer county; from there up to Troy where the judge held court for Perry county in the home of John Daniels; from Troy to Petersburg where the capital of Pike county

had been laid out, and thence to Portersville, the county seat of Dubois. If he were still able to travel, he could continue on by way of Wright's ferry over White river and the buffalo path back to Vincennes. His trip had kept him out fourteen weeks. He had found only one tavern on his circuit.

The old third circuit stretched from Vevay and Lawrenceburg to Fort Wayne when Judge Miles C. Eggleston rode it in the thirties. On the way the judge held court at Vevay Lawrenceburg, Brookville, Salisbury, Versailles, Greensburg, Connersville, Decatur and Fort Wayne. The latter place was full of Indians and the judge speaks of dismissing court to attend the Indian horse races on St. Mary's river near the fort. The judge and his cavalcade of great lawyers rode horseback through the woods, swimming the streams and staying over night at the little old-fashioned taverns.

As they passed along the traces one might have mistaken them for a band of rangers returning from a successful foray. Their supplies were in their saddle bags, they were dressed, some in backwoods garb with coonskin caps, hair reaching to the belt, done up in eelskin queues; others in faded broadcloth with dilapidated beavers on their heads, the worse for being knocked off by overhanging boughs; and some leading calves or colts, taken as a fee in a law suit.

These lawyers including the judge were by far the most influential men in the state. All of our early governors but one were lawyers and he was the brother of one. All the governors in the history of the state except five have been lawyers. Of the thirty United States senators who have represented us in Congress all but two or three have been lawyers and only one of them, John Tipton, served a

full term, the other two serving by appointment. The same remark applies to our congressmen. Nearly all were lawyers. By far the most vigorous part of the early government was the judiciary. The circuit riding lawyers and the judges were the stump speakers in election times. The settlers would crowd the log court houses to hear the lawyers speak. They were favorites everywhere. At the taverns they gave Bud and Sis nickels and dimes to grease their boots, curry their horses or bring an extra cup of coffee at bed time. They took part in the neighborhood literaries to the great delight of the farmers. They were the officers of the militia, making fine appearance as graceful horsemen.

The work however, was exhausting. They had to travel in storm and shine, often sleeping on the floor. Many of them formed habits of intemperance or contracted lung diseases, from exposure. Few of them lived long. As a profession they excelled. Such men as Blackford, Dewey, Whitcomb, Hannegan, Marshall, O. H. Smith, Judah, Dunn and Eggleston were the finest products of pioneer Indiana.

One more class of organizations before turning over the infant state as a finished product. The citizens of Indiana have always fostered fraternal organizations. The golden strands of these secret organizations reached to and permeated all sections of the state. In exceeding large measure they contribute to the good humor and stability of society. The men who become heated in political and religious strife cool off in the lodge room and around their altars renew those relations which after all their strife keep them human.

The oldest of these societies and in some sense the parent of them all is the society of Freemasons. It came to Indiana by the same route as most of its early settlers, from

Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky. The lodge in Indiana is now 109 years old, antedating the constitution nine years. The oldest organization is at Vincennes. This lodge together with those at Lawrenceburg, Vevay, Rising Sun, Madison, Charlestown, Brookville, Salem and Corydon were under the Kentucky jurisdiction till Indiana became a state.

The campaign of Tippecanoe had a great deal to do with spreading Freemasonry over the territory. When in 1811 the militia from all parts of the state were gathered there a large number of the soldiers joined and many who had not attended lodge since they moved into the territory renewed their interest. In fact the time spent by the army at Vincennes was a kind of Masonic revival, so that a large number on returning home took steps to organize lodges.

December 3, 1817, representatives of nine lodges met at Corydon, the state capital, and adopted a constitution for a state grand lodge, to have jurisdiction over the whole state. Nine of the fourteen members of this convention were then or afterward members of the legislature. In that early day when there were no organized agents of charity the work of the fraternal societies was far more beneficial in comparison than at present. The Masons were in time supplemented by others until at present he is a poor man indeed who does not belong to more than one.

These instances are only the leading ones in which the wonderful organizing movement of the period was manifested. There were many others. The farmers, editors, carpenters, typesetters and other craftsmen formed organizations of more or less vitality and significance. But enough has been said to outline the picture.

EARLY RAILROAD BUILDING IN INDIANA

BY MR. RALPH BLANK

For four or five decades following the war of 1812 the greatest single problem, west of the Alleghenies, was that of transportation. Following the war there were inaugurated in every state of the Union, schemes and programs for state constructed internal improvements. The fever spread rapidly, early crossing the Alleghenies to the new states of Ohio and Indiana.

Two outlets for the commerce and travel of Indiana presented themselves. One was advocated by a party looking eastward to the Atlantic coast markets. The other was urged by far the larger party, looking to New Orleans as the most desirable outlet for the produce of the state. The latter party advocated the construction of railroads, turnpikes and canals leading in the direction of the Ohio River. It especially urged a speedy connection of the Ohio River and the waters of the Great Lakes.

Scarcely had Indiana entered the Union, when she became a leader in the movement for internal improvement.¹

¹Shortly after Indiana became a state it was confronted with the improvement problem. Governor Jennings, Dec. 2, 1817, in his message to the legislature referred to a communication from DeWitt Clinton, president of the Board of Canal Commissioners of New York, accompanied by documents "relative to the contemplated navigable communication between the great western and northwestern lakes and the Atlantic Ocean."

In the same message Governor Jennings reported the appointment by the Governor of Pennsylvania of a committee to meet with delegates, to be appointed by the states of Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana, with a view of clearing obstructions in

Her internal improvement program enacted in 1836 was probably the most comprehensive scheme of state internal improvement enacted up to that year. In comparison with the surrounding states Indiana was handicapped, as she had but few routes of communication with the outside world. The largest rivers of the state, the White and the Wabash, were only partially navigable, and that for the lightest vessels only. The Ohio River alone afforded the settler a natural route to the outside world. Ohio, on the other hand, had not only the Ohio River and Great Lakes routes, but also shared in the advantages of the Erie Canal, built by the state of New York. Illinois, our western neighbor, had the Mississippi River as a boundary, and the Ohio and Wabash Rivers as her south and eastern boundaries.

The great problem which confronted the pioneers living in the interior of our state was how to secure an outlet for their products. Should they look eastward to the Atlantic markets and build their roads in that direction, or should they, looking to New Orleans as their market, make all roads lead to the Ohio River? Should they build canals, turnpikes or railroads? Governor Ray aptly expressed the demand of the pioneer: "Whatever will carry the flour, pork, beef, potatoes and productions of our soil to a good market, with the most expedition and the smallest expense, as well as most safely and securely; and return those articles of merchandise which the people must and will have, in the same manner, is what is wanted."²

Each advocate of the railroad, the canal and turnpike

the Ohio river and for the building of a canal at the falls, making an all water connection from the Hudson river to the Mississippi. House Journal 1817, pp. 8-9.

²Senate Journal 1827, p. 16.

firmly believed in the superiority of his scheme. All were agreed that the interior of the state needed an outlet for its produce. It could readily be seen that the population, exports and imports warranted artificial transportation routes. In 1840 the population of the state was 685,866—the great majority of this number living in the southern half of the state.³

As late as 1825 there was not a canal, turnpike or railroad in the state. None of the rivers of the state was in navigable condition. A railroad or turnpike from Lawrenceburg or Madison to Indianapolis would accommodate, in the counties through which it would pass, 59,583 and 60,917 people, respectively, to say nothing of the ten counties of the central part of the state which would take advantage of roads from the capitol to the Ohio River. The roads from the Ohio to the new capitol were scarcely more than trails. Teamsters required fourteen to sixteen days to make the round trip from Indianapolis to the Ohio River. The cost of transportation from the interior of the state was enormous. Live stock was usually driven through to the river towns, but most of the produce had to be hauled by oxen or horses. Four to eight oxen or horses were required to draw loads of one or two tons between Indianapolis and the Ohio River trade centers.

Freight rates upon many products were prohibitive. Wheat, corn, oats and hay were heavy crops in Indiana by 1840. The cost of shipping from the central counties, as Marion, Hendricks and Hamilton, was approximately \$25 per ton. The same rates were charged on the necessary manufactured articles brought on the return trip.⁴ The problem of disposing of their produce loomed larger to the

³Compendium of Sixth Census 1841, p. 82.

⁴An estimate was made in 1834 of the amount of transportation

pioneer than that of securing supplies. The census of 1840 showed the state to be producing 4,049,375 bushels of wheat, over 5,000,000 bushels of oats, 675,982 sheep, 619,980 cattle and 1,623,608 swine.⁵

Such inland counties as Shelby and Marion were raising between thirty and forty thousand hogs alone.⁶ Some of the grain was made into flour before shipping; the census

and rates for ten counties, ranging from Dearborn county northward to Marion, also including the counties about Marion:

	Amt.	Rate.	Total Expense.	R. R. Cost.	Saving.
Dearborn -----	2,488 tons	\$ 2.00	\$ 4,976	\$ 1,244	\$ 3,732
Ripley -----	2,900 tons	15.00	43,500	6,525	36,975
Decatur -----	1,510 tons	7.50	11,325	1,585	9,740
Shelby -----	3,025 tons	20.00	60,500	9,831	50,669
Hamilton -----	1,102 tons	25.00	27,550	5,234	22,216
Marion -----	1,735 tons	25.00	43,375	8,241	35,134
Hendricks -----	932 tons	25.00	23,300	4,548	19,008
Hancock -----	1,966 tons	25.00	48,300	9,096	39,204
Boone -----	362 tons	25.00	9,050	1,719	7,331
Madison -----	966 tons	25.00	24,150	4,548	19,602

	52,571
Passages and mail	10,000
	10,000

Savings by R. R.

62,571
\$234,305

Senate Journal 1834, p. 74—Report to Legislature by President Morten, Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis Railroad.

⁵Compendium to the Census 1841, p. 287.

⁶Ibid, Marion County, 38,463 hogs; Shelby, 39,618; Hendricks, 32,116; Hamilton, 28,930; Fayette, 31,349. I merely give a few figures to show the production in Indiana by 1840. There were great quantities of other produce of a marketable nature as hay, lumber, liquor, etc., the bulk of which in many cases forbade shipping.

record of 1840 shows Dearborn County producing 17,600 barrels of flour, Jefferson County 23,300 barrels (much of the flour made here was from grain supplied by the interior counties).

None denied the necessity of better means of travel. People did differ as to the kind of transportation routes needed, their location, and as to who should finance them.

The problem of the railroad promoter was to show the advantages of railroads, and the inadequacy of turnpikes and canals in solving the transportation problem. His task was by no means an easy one. The majority of the people looked upon the railroad as impractical, and as a form of travel of doubtful value, even in the east. The earlier demands for internal improvements in the state were in the form of canals, turnpikes and coachroads. In the building of these transportation lines, the state profited by the example and long experience of the eastern states. In the case of railroad building, on the other hand, no such examples could be relied upon. Railroads in the east were still in the experimental stage. In 1827 the Quincy Railroad, the first in America, was completed. It was soon followed by the Mauch Chunk Railroad.⁷ Even in England the railroad was still in the primitive state. There was not an English road with iron rails before 1738, and the steam locomotive did not make its appearance until 1804.⁸

The pioneer railroad of America, the Baltimore & Ohio, was not organized until 1827; actual work was begun the following year. The railroad mania rapidly spread westward. Fired by the example of eastern railroad enterprises,

⁷These roads were nothing more than tramways, three and twelve miles long, respectively. See Carter's "When Railroads Were New," pp. 13-14.

⁸Dunbar "History of Travel in America," III, p. 207.

some of the radicals of our state took up the advocacy of railroads as against canals.

As early as 1827, Governor Ray, in his grandiloquent style, while speaking of the national land grant for the Wabash Canal, set forth the value of railroads in comparison with canals.

"If the act had given the state privilege to make use of the land, to construct either a railway or a canal it could not be questioned that it would be altogether adequate to the finishing of the one, though it might fall short as to the other. Railways are rapidly bearing away the palm of usefulness, from actual experience, from all other commercial facilities. In latitudes as far north as the Wabash their equal utility at least with the canal may be fully illustrated.

Their cost for the same distances and constructed on the same natural surface would be, in this country, about half that of a canal. Equal burdens to any that can be transported on them, and with double the velocity of which the former is susceptible. During the season at which a canal is closed up with ice, the railway is fit for use. The canal is often the harbinger of disease, engendered by the frequent overcharges of water that escapes and forms reservoirs, and there becomes a stagnant pool; whilst railroads are exempt from these disadvantages. There being perishable materials in both, the one is perhaps no more apt to get out of repair than the other. In connecting seas, lakes and rivers near the tropics, canals may claim the pre-eminency, but to unite streams which are themselves only a part of the year navigable, the railroad appears to possess much consistency. A railroad would do the whole business—a canal could do no more. The former would bring as much money into the treasury as the latter."⁹

Long before the question of canals or railroads was debated in Indiana it had been threshed out in the east.¹⁰ In

⁹Senate Journal 1827, p. 14, seq.

¹⁰Note publication in 1812 of "Documents Tending to Prove the

England and our eastern states canals had long been recognized as practical and reliable modes of travel. Thus it may readily be seen, the burden of proof rested with the railroad promoters. The more conservative element favored a policy of canal and turnpike construction. Railroads were regarded as yet in the experimental stage, and at best unsuitable for the rough, uncleared western country.

There was no dearth of arguments and figures sent forth by both parties. The chief arguments of the opponents of railroads may be briefly summarized.

The necessary capital for building railways was lacking in the west. The argument that eastern capital must be borrowed, our money sent to England for steel rails and rolling stock, instead of circulating in the state and country, made a great impression upon many people. The laboring class, especially, was influenced by this appeal. The material and labor for constructing canals could be obtained cheaply within the state.

The utility of canals had long been tested. The natural formation of the country, it was contended, was more conducive to canal than railroad building. The cost of construction of a double track railroad was estimated as much higher than the cost of building a canal. Canal repairs would be less expensive. The canal was thought to be permanent, more durable, and less subject to decay than the railroad.¹¹ For the safety and transportation of heavy

Superior Advantages of Railways and Steam Carriages Over Canal Navigation," published by T. and J. Swords.

Dunbar thinks this is probably the first printed American work on the subject. See his "History of Travel in America," III, p. 881.

¹¹"From experiments made where canals and railroads have been used and fairly tested, the relative comparison between the two modes of conveyance, when passing at a rate not exceeding

articles the former was especially adapted.¹² Many articles such as wood, timber and stone were rendered valuable by a canal "from being transported to market, by the labor, horses and boats of their owners, which would not bear paying freight to a company."¹³

Canals would place the facilities of transportation more in the hands of the people. An old Jacksonian Democrat opposed railroads on the ground that they were monopolies to the wealthy.¹⁴ Every man could put his boat on the canal at a nominal toll rate. The cost of a canal boat but little exceeded that of a farmer's wagon.¹⁵

The advocates of railroad building, no less effectively marshalled their arguments. Railroads could be used the year round while canals were only navigable seven months of the year. Canal and up-river travel were slow. Travel and shipping by railroads could be made with double the speed of a canal. Perishable materials had to be used in the construction of both. The railroad men refused to

from two and a half to three and a half miles per hour, is much in favor of canals. At that rate of motion a body floating in water is propelled forward with less power than it can be on land by a means which has hitherto been invented."

This report made by the Commissioners of the Wabash and Erie Canal, Dec. 17, 1831, was distinctly in favor of a canal and against a railroad for this country.

¹²The report of the Commissioners of the Wabash Canal, Leg. Jour, 1831, p. 6 of report.

¹³Ibid, p. 7. The railroad repairs were declared to be enormous. Iron rails cost \$85 per ton in England, not including the transportation charges. It was pointed out that new ties would be necessary every eight or ten years, and that there would be great difficulty in keeping the rails parallel.

¹⁴Indiana Daily Journal, June 14, 1834.

¹⁵House Journal, 1831, Report of Wabash Canal Commissioners, p. 7 of report.

admit the cheaper construction of canals than railroads.¹⁶ They declared that a railroad could be constructed at half the cost necessary for a canal. Governor Ray in his message of 1827 stated this as a fact. The railroad men pointed out the effect of railroads in raising the price of land and in developing inland towns. A table was compiled showing comparative rates of transportation by canal, turn-pike and railroad. The rates for the latter were shown to be much the lowest of the three.¹⁷ Of course these calculations were only approximately correct being based largely on eastern experiment where conditions were very different from those in Indiana.

The railroad party looked upon the state as the only pos-

¹⁶Estimates by the Wabash Canal Commissioners in Report to the Legislature, Dec. 17, 1831. See House Journal, 1831: A little less than \$9,000 per mile was their estimated cost of constructing the Wabash & Erie Canal. They reported \$9,000 to be the least estimate made for a single track railroad of wood and iron. Double tracks were estimated much higher. The Leg. Comm. on Internal Improvements (reported in Indianapolis Journal, Jan. 20, 1835) estimated that \$400 per mile per annum could be saved by canals. They based their judgment upon the cost of construction of the eastern roads, as the Columbia Railroad, \$42,000 per mile; the Albany & Schenectady, \$3,000; Camden & Amboy, \$30,000 per mile, etc. It was further pointed out that 400 miles of canal in Ohio were made for an average of \$12,000 per mile, while the maximum cost in Pennsylvania was between \$20,000 and \$25,000. Ind. Jour., Jan. 20, 1835.

¹⁷Ind. Journal, Aug. 14, 1835. Statistics showing total cost of transportation and toll per mile, exclusive of unloading, loading and profit:

Tons per year	On Canals	On Railroads	On Turnpikes
50,000	\$ 3.09	\$ 1.67	\$18.00
10,000	10.58	2.44	20.00
5,000	19.94	3.88	22.00
1,000	92.52	11.00	85.00

sible builder of railroads just as it was of turnpike and canals. There was a difference of opinion whether the state should finance the entire internal improvement program.

The cases of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio were cited, as having constructed all their principal canals and roads by borrowing money on the faith and credit of the state, expending it through the agency of a board of state officers.¹⁸

Lack of capital held back railroad development by individual enterprise in the new western state. It was necessary for the state, therefore, to make the first move. The advantages of state ownership were played up large. Tolls and rates collected from passengers and freight would be sufficient, in a few years, to pay for construction. Transportation lines should always be public property, argued the Jacksonian Democrat.

As before stated, Governor Ray was among the first to see the value of railroads as a practical outlet for the bread and meat of Indiana to the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. He set forth the advantages of a railroad from Lawrenceburgh, on the Ohio river, in the Whitewater country, to a point on the National road in Wayne county and as far towards Ft. Wayne as possible. Governor Ray proposed two other necessary roads; one from the Ohio river to the Wabash and Erie canal, by way of the seat of government;¹⁹ the second from the Wabash to the Great Lakes.²⁰

No more constant champion of railroad building ever appeared than Governor Ray. In his message to the legislature, he set forth eloquently and forcibly the great advantages which must accrue to Indiana by the construction and

¹⁸Ind. Journal, Oct. 16, 1835.

¹⁹House Journal, 1829, 18, Governor's message.

²⁰Senate Journal, 1827, 15-16.

operation of railroads. A far-seeing man, he predicated much which later came to pass. He was, in his own time, considered mentally unbalanced—and his schemes chimerical.

Ray delighted in explaining his "grand scheme" of railroad concentration at Indianapolis. Indianapolis was to be the head—the "great hub" of a score of radiating lines. Along the lines there were to be villages at intervals of every five miles, at intervals of ten miles towns, and twenty miles cities. It was his dearest wish that the Union depot, the point of concentration, should be on his property, opposite the court house.

It is interesting to note that one expedient in construction proposed by Ray, which at that time appeared ridiculous, has since come to be successfully used. Where deep gorges or valleys were to be crossed he proposed to dispense with the trestle-work, by cutting off the tops of growing trees level with the track and laying the track on top of these.²¹

At various times the state appealed to Congress for aid in constructing her railroads. Indiana never succeeded in obtaining a congressional land grant for railway construction however. While she succeeded in securing a rather liberal land grant for the Wabash and Erie canal, all attempts to obtain a railroad land grant failed. The form of grants to later railroad projects is said to have been modeled after the grant in aid of a canal in Indiana.²² Few of the early land grant bills were successful, largely owing to sectional jealousy and state rivalry. Particularly noticeable was the struggle between the East and West.²³

²¹Woolen "Biographical and Historical Sketches," 61.

²²U. S. Statutes at Large IV, 47 and 236. See also Sanborn, "Cong. Land Grants to Railroads," University of Wisconsin Studies, Vol. II.

²³Sanborn, Cong. Land Grants, 38 et. seq.

At the close of the thirtieth session the House was opposed to railroad land grants and the Senate in favor of them. In proportion to the entire number there were more representatives of the new western states in the Senate than in the House. The prospects for the passage of a railroad land grant bill were far from bright.

In 1838 the strongest attempt made thus far to secure a railroad land grant, occurred. A bill was introduced in Congress asking for aid in the construction of the New Albany and Mt. Carmel railroad (within the state of Indiana.) The Senate committee on roads and canals reported favorably upon it and the bill was taken up by the Senate June 6, 1838. Mr. Tipton explained the bill at length, showing the advantages to be derived by the government from its carrying of United States mail and transporting munitions of war.

He said that some of the land, which was asked for in the bill, had remained unsold for the thirty years just passed; and in its present state was unsalable and valueless. Senator Smith of Indiana made the principal speech for the bill.²⁴ Senator Niles of Connecticut led the opposition. He said there were constitutional objections to the bill, and it looked to him as a "bargain on the part of the government with a private corporation." He said he had always been, and always should be opposed to all bargain, intrigue and management. He moved the striking out of all that related to the enacting clause. Mr. Nile's motion was carried, twenty-nine to eleven.²⁵ Attempts were made again in 1839 and 1840 in the House for the New Albany and Mt.

²⁴Cong. Globe second session, twenty-fifth Cong., 434.

²⁵Cong. Globe second session, twenty-fifth Congress, 434. In the latter part of the session of 1838 an attempt was made to eliminate objection to the grant to a private corporation by granting the land to the state.

Carmel project. The bill, however, was introduced in an amended form, giving the railroad people the right of pre-emption only of land through which the road was to pass. The time was not yet ripe for railroad land grants.

Smith contended that it was a part of a great national scheme, a link in a railroad from Charleston, South Carolina, through that state, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, to intersect the Mississippi river at Alton and St. Louis.

It was to be important also from a national and individual viewpoint. There were 120 miles of the contemplated road. It was proposed that the railroad in return for the grant carry United States mail free of charge for twenty years. Smith contended that this land asked for in the grant bill was not worth twenty-five cents an acre, but by granting of alternate sections to a railroad the value of the other would be greatly enhanced.

The struggle and debates over this bill is typical of most of the early railroad land grant proposals before Congress.

Dr. Sanborn truly observes, in his *Congressional Land Grants to Railroads*, that the bill had much greater merit than many which were successfully passed a few years later.²⁶ New Albany was on the Ohio, opposite Louisville, and Mt. Carmel on the Wabash river. It was claimed that a road connecting them would secure a passage around the low water of the lower Ohio—thus affording an outlet for the produce of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana to the Mississippi river and New Orleans.²⁷

All of these early attempts to secure land to aid railroad

²⁶Sanborn, "Cong. Land Grants to Railroads," 20. The Illinois Central Railroad was the first to receive a Congressional land grant.

²⁷The prevalence of the idea that the railroad was only to supplement river and canal travel may be seen in Congressional action. Congress paid more attention to those railroad land grant bills for railroads following natural water courses which would assist these routes in time of low water.

construction ended in failure. One of the most pretentious of these bills was introduced by Senator Bright of this state in 1853, granting 400,000 acres of public land to a great number of railroad companies in order to construct a continuous railroad from Lake Erie to the mouth of the Ohio river, thence to New Orleans and Mobile. These railroads, in turn, were to carry United States troops and munitions free of charge in time of war.

The people of Indiana did not wait for the national government to subsidize their railroads. When the national government would not aid them in their railroad efforts they turned to the state legislature. Governor Ray was by no means the only active advocate of railroad construction in the late twenties. The first real action came, however, after 1830.

²⁸Ind. Journal, Jan. 17, 1854.

INDIANA ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY DR. CHARLES KETTLEBOROUGH, INDIANAPOLIS

Although its morale had been seriously shaken by numerous reverses, the Democratic party at the beginning of the year 1860 was still firmly entrenched in power in Indiana. It had both United States senators;¹ a respectable representation on the congressional delegation;² all the state officers;³ substantially a majority in the General Assembly;⁴ a well-disciplined political organization, ample patronage, able and skillful leadership, well-earned triumphs, eminent respectability, gripping party traditions, and unbroken prestige. By the end of the year, it had been defeated in state and nation; its compact organization had been split

¹Graham N. Fitch (Logansport), term expired in 1861; Jesse D. Bright (Jeffersonville), term expired in 1863.

²The Administration Democrats in the Congressional delegation were: William E. Niblack, 1st Dist. (Vincennes); William H. English, 2d Dist. (Vienna), and William S. Holman, 4th Dist. (Aurora). John G. Davis, 7th Dist. (Rockville), was an Anti-Lecompton Democrat. The Republicans were: Wm. M. Dunn, 3d Dist. (Madison); David Kilgore, 5th Dist. (Muncie); Albert G. Porter, 6th Dist. (Indianapolis); James Wilson, 8th Dist. (Crawfordsville); Schuyler Colfax, 9th Dist. (South Bend); Chas. Case, 10th Dist. (Ft. Wayne), and John U. Pettit, 11th Dist. (Wabash). Classification of Tribune Almanac.

³Daniel McClure, Secretary of State; John W. Dodd, Auditor; Nathaniel F. Cunningham, Treasurer; Joseph E. McDonald, Attorney-General; Samuel L. Rugg, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Gordon Tanner, Reporter of the Supreme Court, and William B. Beech, Clerk of the Supreme Court.

⁴Senate: 25 Republicans and 25 Democrats. House: 51 Republicans and 49 Democrats.

into hostile fragments; and a party without traditions or political experience, curiously compounded of heterogeneous ingredients, attracted to the embattled remnant of the Whigs who had survived the disastrous defeat of 1852, had been so firmly installed in power that it was not dislodged for a generation.⁵

It is the purpose of this paper to enumerate and describe the circumstances which attended the translation of authority from the Democrats to the Republicans; to attempt a tentative estimation of the comparative influence of the operation of economic and moral forces and the personal grievances of party leaders in effecting that change; and to describe the effect which was produced on the temper of the Democratic party by their untimely discomfiture and by the convergence of these forces at the outbreak of the Civil War.

During the half dozen years prior to 1860, the destinies of each of the two dominant parties in Indiana were presided over by four men. The Democratic junto or managers consisted of Jesse D. Bright, Thomas A. Hendricks, Joseph E. McDonald and Ashbel P. Willard. Bright was at this time in the United States Senate where he had served continuously since 1846. He was neither an orator, a writer nor a statesman. But he was an exceptionally able and astute party manager, "the first political boss" of Indiana, and had, by consummate dexterity, succeeded in reducing the Democratic party to "an individual possession." All federal patronage in the state was distributed according to his personal wishes. He was a slave holder, a bitter enemy of Stephen A. Douglas, rather brutal and truculent in his political methods, imperious in temper, and, having been detected in treasonable correspondence with the South, his

⁵In the state, the Democrats returned to power in 1873; in the nation, in 1884.

public career was terminated by summary expulsion from the United States Senate on February 5, 1862.⁶ Thomas A. Hendricks, the second of the quadrumvirate, had already won great esteem and personal popularity;⁷ he was an eloquent and effective public speaker; non-committal and adroit;⁸ of unblemished character; and socially accomplished. He studiously avoided political embarrassments by wisely relinquishing the power of appointment in favor of Senator Bright; and, although he had habitually fraternized with the organization and assisted in maturing and executing its policies, he had sufficient sagacity to discern the drift of public sentiment and he therefore supported Douglas in 1860. Joseph E. McDonald was an able and conscientious man, without rank as an orator, but possessed of a peculiar power of expressing himself clearly; he had already served one term as attorney-general of the state; and was elected to Congress in 1849. Ashbel P. Willard was at this time governor of the state; he was a political knight errant, of commanding personal appearance, engaging manners, and affable temper; his voice was strong, clear, resonant and well modulated; he was a genial companion and a familiar conversationalist; his remarkable memory for names and faces was one of his chief political

⁶Wallace, Lew: *An Autobiography*, I, 236. Cited subsequently as Wallace, Woollen, William Wesley: *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, p. 223.

⁷He was born in 1819 and was therefore only 41 years of age in 1860.

⁸Wallace, a contemporary of Hendricks and 33 years of age in 1860, says of Hendricks, I, 236, that he had "an extraordinary power of speech, the peculiarity of which was a faculty of putting things to the satisfaction of his audiences without actually committing himself." Foulke, William Dudley: *Life of Oliver P. Morton*. I. 65. Cited hereafter as Foulke.

assets. One of his admiring contemporaries pronounces him "the ablest and most accomplished stump speaker that ever lived in Indiana."⁹ He possessed remarkable powers of physical endurance and in his campaigns he insisted on inspecting all poll books and interviewing all precinct workers; his favorite saying was that "in politics nothing must be taken for granted." He probably interpreted Democracy more satisfactorily than any other man of his time in Indiana.¹⁰

These four men constituted a political co-partnership. They determined and formulated all Democratic policies; wrote the state platforms, distributed the patronage, rewarded party services, disciplined the forward and recalcitrant, and "legislated for the Democracy as Mahomet legislated for his faithful."¹¹

Of the junior politicians who were sometimes invited to participate in the deliberations of this esoteric junto and who were expected to carry out its pre-determined policies without cavil, the most celebrated were Dr. Graham N. Fitch of Logansport, colleague of Bright and one of the "bogus" senators elected in 1859; John L. Robinson, United States marshal, editor of the *Rushville Jacksonian*, former member of Congress, a skillful debater, adroit, a devotee of the system, and especially obnoxious to the Douglas Democrats; David Turpie, candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1860; Cyrus L. Dunham, secretary of state and the administration candidate for governor in 1860; lieu-

⁹David Turpie in his *Sketches of My Own Times*, 1903. A graver critic says: "I only state a fact well known to those familiar with the public men of that day when I say that as a political stumper Mr. Willard had no equal in the state, with the exception of Henry S. Lane." Woollen, p. 105.

¹⁰Turpie, p. 155ff; Wallace, I, p. 238.

¹¹Wallace, I, 238.

tenant-governor Abram A. Hammond; J. J. Bingham, editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*; James Hughes, member of Congress; Joseph W. Chapman, Samuel E. Perkins, Lafe Devlin, D. W. Voorhees, John C. Walker, Robert Lowry and Gordon Tanner.

The Republican junto consisted of Henry S. Lane, John D. Defrees, Schuyler Colfax and Cyrus Allen. Henry S. Lane was one of the most effective and inspiring stump speakers of his time; he had achieved a distinguished military record in the Mexican War; he was chosen president of the Republican national convention of 1856 and had served two terms in Congress with signal ability; in 1859, Colonel Lane and Wm. M. McCarty were elected to the United States Senate in opposition to Bright and Fitch. John D. Defrees until 1854 was the owner and editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, the organ of the Republican party, and he was one of the wisest and shrewdest politicians in the state. Schuyler Colfax was a member of Congress, an effective speaker, a ready and forceful writer and the owner of the *South Bend Free Press*. Cyrus Allen was not so well known as his colleagues; his chief power lay in party management where his services were indispensable; south of the National road he exercised undisputed political supremacy. These four men were moderate radicals; they borrowed many of their political principles from Henry Clay; they were compromising in temper but adhered with unshaken tenacity to a principle once determined upon. They diagnosed the sentimental and moral convictions by which the various groups opposed to Democracy were actuated; they judiciously eliminated those of a transient and ephemeral character and resolved to emphasize the restriction of the extension of slavery; and they then set diligently to work to effect a coalition of the Whigs, Know-Nothings,

Abolitionists, Free Soilers and temperance advocates. Among the colleagues of these four men, George W. Julian and Oliver P. Morton were exceptionally conspicuous. But Julian was an Abolitionist and an uncompromising radical, and although he subsequently joined the Republican party, and brought his followers into the coalition, he was not a commanding figure until the party was fully formed. Morton, on the other hand, had not fully emerged from the Democratic party and was therefore not yet admitted to full fellowship in the new Republican party.

Among the more enterprising of the junior Republican politicians were Berry R. Sulgrove, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*; Michael C. Garber, editor of the *Madison Courier*; Pleasant A. Hackleman, Jonathan W. Gordon, Solomon Meredith, Conrad Baker, M. C. Hunter, Will Cumback, H. C. Newcomb, Lucius Bingham, G. K. Steele and Caleb B. Smith.

The schism in the Democratic party which was the outstanding political event in 1860, originated in 1854. It was caused by the operation of economic and social forces, by the ambitious activity of Senator Stephen A. Douglas to achieve the Presidency, and the vigilant efforts of his political enemies to thwart his designs. With the adoption of the compromise measure of 1850, the country had found repose in temporary tranquility. The provisions of this measure were accepted in the North with a feeling of relief and approved by the South with undoubted manifestations of general satisfaction. It was endorsed alike by the Whigs and Democrats in their national conventions of 1852, and in his inaugural address of March 4, 1853, President Pierce assured the country that its provisions would be "unhesitatingly carried into effect." Less than a year had elapsed before the repose of the country was rudely dis-

turbed by the activity of Senator Douglas, who was the boldest aspirant for the Presidency. Douglas contended that in the election of Pierce the Democratic party "had consumed all its powder, and therefore, without a deep reaching agitation, it would have no more ammunition for its artillery." Douglas realized that the southern politicians distrusted him and without southern aid he was unable to secure the nomination for the Presidency. To secure this southern support, to produce this deep-reaching agitation and to supply the Democratic arsenals with sufficient ammunition for their artillery, Douglas, during a trip abroad, which had afforded him the necessary leisure for patient meditation, invented a fresh issue and precipitated it into Congress with dramatic abruptness in 1854, and passed it through both Houses where he exercised the "authority and power of a dictator throughout the whole controversy."¹² The doctrines of supercession, popular sovereignty and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which constituted the essence of this famous measure, precipitated the "irrepressible conflict" which eventuated six years later in the appeal to arms. At the north the measure was received with expressions of unbounded execration; and its author, as he himself assures us, was able to travel "from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own blazing effigies." At the south, no act of Congress had ever been "so generally and so unanimously hailed with delight."¹³

In Indiana, the news of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was received with sincere and wide-spread expressions of condemnation. The measure, it was said, was designed to promote the "personal ambition" of its

¹²This is Douglas' own assertion. Cited in Rhodes, I. 491.

¹³Opinion of A. H. Stephens, six years after its passage. Cited in Rhodes, I, 496.

sponsor and calculated to affect injuriously the liberties of the people.¹⁴ Resolutions were adopted opposing the reelection of every member of Congress who had voted for the Bill, or who refused to declare his "unqualified hostility" to its principles. The organized opposition to this famous measure led ultimately to the organization of the People's party, at the inception of which Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, Know-Nothings and other disaffected elements cordially fraternized. Only two members¹⁵ of Congress who voted for the Bill were returned at the fall elections of 1854, and both of these by diminished majorities.¹⁶ Daniel Mace, the Democratic congressman from the 8th district, who had opposed the Bill at every stage of the proceedings, was returned to Congress as a candidate on the People's ticket, by a larger majority than he had received in 1852 as a Democrat.¹⁷ The entire Democratic state ticket was defeated by majorities of approximately 10,000.

In spite of the reverses of 1854 and the revulsion of public sentiment in the Northwest, Senator Douglas was

¹⁴Resolutions adopted by the German Democrats of Indianapolis, March 4, 1854. *Morning Journal*, March 7, 1854.

¹⁵Smith Miller and Wm. H. English. Of the other 11 representatives, Cyrus L. Dunham, Thos. A. Hendricks, John G. Davis and Norman Eddy voted for the bill, were candidates for reelection, and were defeated. Ebenezer M. Chamberlain was absent and did not vote, but was favorable to the passage of the bill; he was a candidate for reelection and was defeated. James H. Lane voted for the bill but was not a candidate for reelection. Andrew J. Harlan, Samuel W. Parker and Daniel Mace voted against the bill.

¹⁶Miller's majority was reduced from 2,755 in 1852 to 813 in 1854; English's majority from 1,500 to 586.

¹⁷Mace's majority in 1852 as a Democrat was 1,336; his majority as a Fusion candidate in 1854 was 2,519.

speedily rehabilitated in the esteem of his former followers, and by the beginning of 1856 "it was positively clear" to contemporary observers that he commanded the support of "a majority of the party in Indiana" for the Presidency.¹⁸ Farther east it was neither certain nor probable that he could secure the full party vote, and the political managers therefore decided on Buchanan who had been out of the country during the recent reaction. The Democratic party leaders in Indiana engaged to carry out their part of the program. Bright, Pettit, Robinson, Hughes, Willard, McDonald and Hendricks, who exercised undisputed political supremacy in this state, and distributed the patronage where it would yield the largest returns, were all for Buchanan. The state convention of 1856 according to the ancient customs of the party assembled on January 8. Such unimportant details as preparing the "slate",¹⁹ drafting the resolutions and designating the presiding officers had been attended to before the convention met. John Pettit was chosen permanent chairman. By skillfully exercising the prerogatives of his office, he packed the committee on resolutions with Buchanan partizans who could be relied upon to return resolutions endorsing the Pennsylvania aspirant. The Douglas men were unorganized and leaderless. Lew Wallace, a delegate from Montgomery county, and then a young man of twenty-nine, interviewed the more prominent Douglas men and urged them to present a resolution endorsing Douglas, but all declined. Finally he wrote the

¹⁸This was the opinion of Lew Wallace, a delegate to the convention of 1856.

¹⁹The contest for governor was between Ashbel P. Willard and John L. Robinson, two faithful members of the "machine," and the other leaders abstained from interfering in the contest. determined Douglas men, formally presented the resolution

resolution himself and secured its adoption by a caucus of Douglas delegates which had assembled for deliberation during the noon adjournment. Holman agreed to present the plank, but when the time arrived for its submission he did not materialize, and Wallace was obliged to present it himself. John Pettit ruled it out of order, but he was interrupted by an angry and vociferous demonstration, and Wallace, borne to the stage on the shoulders of a group of and delivered a short speech moving its adoption. Pettit was livid with rage, but he was unable to control the enthusiastic demonstrations, and finally, from sheer exhaustion, he subsided and put the motion and it carried. Wallace was overcome with rapture with having beaten the old guard and he retired from the rencontre with "measureless content." But these wily old stagers were not to be frustrated by the clever and arrogant performances of an undisciplined parvenu. Before the proceedings of the convention were prepared for the press, the resolution was deliberately re-written and what had been a ringing endorsement of Douglas was transformed into an enthusiastic approval of Buchanan. Who had perpetrated this palpable forgery will probably never be known. Wallace checked the list of the party managers who he knew were present at the conference and he "settled on one really the brightest, boldest, most unscrupulous of them all." Writing fifty years later, then a veteran of seventy-nine, distinguished in war, politics, literature and statecraft, and when the suppositious culprit was long since dead, Wallace generously declined to reveal his suspicions and posterity and the historian must remain content with conjectures.²⁰

The opposition to Douglas which had been displayed by the "old guard" at the state convention of 1856 was prob-

²⁰Wallace, I, 248.

ably inspired largely by a desire to secure a more available candidate for President and not by personal grievances. At the session of Congress in 1854 the Indiana delegation had voted with Douglas on his Kansas-Nebraska bill²¹ and four years later many of the leaders who had staunchly supported Buchanan were energetic and sincere Douglas proponents.²² In the meantime, however, an event transpired which inflamed the wrath of the two Indiana senators and created a personal animosity between the Illinois senator and the party managers of this state which they neither forgot nor forgave.

In 1855 the Indiana senators in Congress were John Pettit and Jesse D. Bright. The term of Pettit, the senior senator, expired in 1855 and the General Assembly of that year had imposed upon it the duty of electing his successor. The Senate was evenly divided; the House was Republican by a slight majority. By Willard's casting vote,²³ the Senate declined to go into joint session; no senator was elected; Pettit's term expired by constitutional limitation; and for two years Indiana had only one United States senator. In 1857, the General Assembly was required to fill the existing vacancy and to elect a successor to Jesse D. Bright whose term expired that year. Again the two

²¹Of the House contingent, 10 were Democrats and one was a Whig; 7 of the Democrats voted for the bill, one was absent but favorably inclined and the Whig and 2 Democrats voted against it. In the Senate, Pettit voted for the bill and Bright was absent.

²²This was especially true of Cyrus L. Dunham, whom Bright tried unsuccessfully to entice into the Breckenridge camp; also of Hughes and Hendricks. Willard was dead, Pettit was out of the state and Bright and Robinson remained obdurate.

²³Asahel P. Willard was lieutenant-governor from 1852 to 1856.

Houses were of opposite political faith; the Senate was Republican; the House was Democratic; and the Democrats had a majority on joint ballot. At a meeting held on January 7, the Republicans resolved that they were under no obligations to elect a senator by joint ballot, and when the House appointed a day for the meeting of a joint convention to elect two United States senators, the Republican senators declined to attend. Meantime, the Democratic legislators held a party caucus and agreed to nominate Jesse D. Bright and Dr. Graham N. Fitch, and Willard, who attended this caucus, declared that if a majority of the General Assembly met in joint session and elected Bright and Fitch, he would commission them.²⁴ Accordingly, the Democratic senators and representatives organized a joint convention and formally named the caucus nominees. The Republicans, alleging that the election was illegal, proceeded to elect Henry S. Lane and William M. McCarty. All four candidates put in an appearance at the beginning of the next session of Congress and demanded seats in the Senate. After an animated examination of the case, Bright and Fitch were seated, but Douglas exerted his influence and cast his vote against his two Democratic colleagues and by that act incurred the lasting hatred and the political opposition of both Indiana senators, as well as the Indiana organization which they operated and controlled.²⁵

Meantime a serious quarrel had developed between Senator Douglas and President Buchanan in 1857 when the President resolved to recommend the adoption of the Le-compton constitution which had been ratified by a mere fraction of the Kansas electorate, the alleged adoption of

²⁴It will be recalled that Willard became governor in 1857.

²⁵Turple, p. 176ff; Foulke, I, p. 59ff.

which had been characterized by peculiarly reprehensible methods, and which virtually dedicated the soil of Kansas to slavery. Douglas regarded the whole proceeding as a fraud and an indefensible political trick, and a few days before the assembling of Congress he assured the President that if the plan were advanced he would denounce it in open senate. The President was equally determined and threatened Douglas with political proscription, and on December 9, in a bold, resolute and defiant speech, Douglas exposed the whole plan and overwhelmed its sponsors with withering satire. This memorable speech produced an irreconcilable breach between Douglas and the administration. Douglas was denounced by his political colleagues and by the southern and administration press. Both of the Indiana senators were eager to repay Douglas with interest for his efforts to defraud them of their seats, and Fitch attacked Douglas in a testy and intemperate speech which produced an unseemly personal altercation between the two men. Wholesale political proscription was used to punish Douglas and his adherents and to secure the adoption of the Lecompton measure. In Indiana it was said that "no postmaster could speak the name of Douglas otherwise than in denunciation without danger to his official head."²⁶

This, then, was the posture of Democratic politics in Indiana as the elections of 1860 approached. Douglas' presidential aspirations; the indignation aroused by the forgery perpetrated by the political managers in the state convention of 1856; the election of the "bogus" senators in 1857, by methods peculiarly reprehensible; Douglas' opposition to their admission to membership in the senate;

²⁶Holcombe, John W. and Skinner, Hubert M., *Life and Public Services of Thomas A. Hendricks* (1886), p. 194.

and the quarrel with the administration; had conspired to divide the Democracy into two mutually hostile and suspicious factions known as the Administration and the Anti-Administration party, Buchanan men and Douglas men, old line Democrats and the Opposition, and the Lecompton and Anti-Lecompton men. The professional politicians, the office holders, the congressional and senatorial delegations, the state central committee and the kept press supported Buchanan; the overwhelming mass of voters and the untrammelled party journals supported Douglas, whose political principles they approved and whose popularity had developed into a sort of political idolatry. In spite of the restless commotion of the party, however, such was the tenacity with which its discontented elements adhered, such is the difficulty of overcoming the inertia of fixed political habits, that the acute schism in the Democratic official household in Indiana, so fatally developed in 1860, was successfully deferred until 1859. Upon the convening of the General Assembly of that year, David Turpie, who had been elected a member of the lower House for a second term in 1858, was the Democratic candidate for speaker. The House was nominally Democratic by a small majority, but three or four members, who had been elected as independents, and who styled themselves Anti-Administration Democrats, refused to attend the Democratic caucus and openly combined with the opposition in the election of Jonathan W. Gordon, the Republican aspirant²⁷. These four men had courageously raised the standard of revolt; recruits responded in overwhelming numbers; the lines of cleavage were conspicuously displayed; the trusted leaders reproached this mutiny and arrogantly proscribed the rebels;

²⁷Turpie, p. 175.

the insurgents, confident of success, organized for the approaching contest, and during the ensuing year the Democratic conscience was stirred and quickened alternately by devotion to Douglas, suspicion and distrust of the old guard, and a desire to preserve unimpaired the vitality of their party, which had been seriously imperiled by vacillating and unresponsive leadership.

As a natural result, the campaign for the selection of delegates to the state convention of 1860 turned exclusively on national and personal issues, and was carried out with great determination, not unmixed with regrettable irregularities. State issues were completely ignored, and the whole contest developed into a struggle for the control of the convention. The object of the administration forces was manifestly to corrupt delegates and elect as many contesting delegations as possible. The Douglas partisans clearly had the advantage in the contest, and the administration forces therefore attempted to accentuate unduly state issues, and urged the appointment of an uninstructed presidential delegation, although, as the convention approached, they seemed disposed to concede the appointment of an uninstructed delegation "known to be friendly to Douglas."²⁸ In opposition to this plan of the "extreme administrationists," the insurgents contended that there could be no harm in declaring "what every intelligent man in the state knows to be a fact, that Mr. Douglas is the first choice of an overwhelming majority of the Indiana Democracy for the presidency."²⁹

An administration plot to carry the convention, not especially well authenticated, was disclosed a week before it assembled. This plot was invented by the political enemies

²⁸Rushville Jacksonian, cited in Sentinel, Jan. 2, 1860.

²⁹Indianapolis Sentinel, Jan. 2, 1860.

of Douglas, nine of whom met in Washington on December 24, after a visit to the White House, and agreed to subscribe the sum of \$8,000 each for the purpose of securing the Indiana delegation to Charleston against Douglas. One of the conspirators from Indiana demurred to subscribing so much, as he had already spent more in the canvass than his means would justify; but the difficulty was adjusted and arrangements were made for him to borrow the money. The money thus subscribed was "to be placed in the hands of energetic friends of the administration—who are to traverse the state and see the delegates previous to the sitting of the convention."⁸⁰ A conjectural fruition of this plot was supplied by the fact that on January 9, two days before the convention assembled, Senator Bright arrived in Indianapolis, accompanied by Mr. Finley Bigger, of the Treasury Department. The rumor was circulated that they had brought \$8,000 with them to be used in corrupting delegates and compassing the defeat of Douglas, and the Douglas men "expressed great fears that bribery and other dishonorable means might beat them."⁸¹ A story was also invented and circulated that the insurgent Democrats had perfected a secret organization, originating in Indianapolis and extending throughout the state, for the purpose of breaking up the convention, if the administration leaders should secure control, by battering down the doors and admitting mobs of armed ruffians. The state central committee was likewise accused of partiality in the distribution of its tickets for the purpose of packing the convention.

Aside from selecting the presiding officer and packing

⁸⁰Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer, dated Dec. 29, 1859. Cited in Sentinel, Jan. 4, 1860.

⁸¹Indianapolis Journal, Jan. 12, 1860.

the committee on resolutions, the chief ambition of the administration forces was to institute as many contests as possible in the hope of stifling public sentiment, and securing the confirmation for the presidency of General Joseph Lane, a pioneer of Indiana, and at that time United States senator from Oregon.

The Democratic state convention of 1860 assembled in Indianapolis on January 11. The convention was one of the most dramatic in the history of the party, and aroused an unusual degree of interest, which was manifested by the large attendance both from home and abroad, who had assembled "to take part in its councils or influence its determinations."³² The convention consisted of 395 delegates, of whom approximately two-thirds were estimated to be for Douglas.³³ There were contests in and double delegations from eight counties,³⁴ aggregating 31 votes. The unusual size of the convention induced the state central committee to adopt a rule excluding all persons from the floor of the convention except regularly accredited delegates, candidates, members of the state central committee and newspaper reporters.³⁵ The convention was a representative, alert and determined group of men, consisting of "the old stagers who have figured in conventions since the state was organized, grown grey in wire-pulling and forming combinations," and "the active and aspiring intellect of the day."³⁶

Most prominent among the combination-forming, wire-

³²Sentinel, Jan. 11, 1860. Turple, p. 183.

³³Sentinel, Jan. 2, 1860.

³⁴Hancock, Jackson, Jennings, Laporte, Lawrence, Randolph and Spencer.

³⁵On Jan. 11 there were 50 newspaper representatives present and still others asking for admission. Sentinel, Jan. 12, 1860.

³⁶Sentinel, Jan. 12.

pulling old stagers who participated directly or indirectly in the deliberations of the convention were Senator Bright, Marshall Robinson, Governor Willard and State Committeemen Daniel W. Voorhees, Joseph W. Chapman and Lafe Devlin. The chief representatives of the "aspiring intellect of the day" were Gordon Tanner, Lew Wallace, John G. Davis, H. P. Harrington, Lieutenant-Governor Hammond, John C. Walker, Norman Eddy, Robert Lowry and J. J. Bingham, editor of the Sentinel. The convention was called to order by Joseph W. Chapman, the member of the state central committee from the Third District, and "Mr. Bright's special friend."³⁷ The whole of the first day was taken up in perfecting an organization and determining contested seats. The insurgents were clearly in the ascendancy. They succeeded, after an exciting encounter, in electing their candidate for temporary chairman by a vote of 189 to 174; in providing that the committee on credentials should be appointed by the presiding officer, and that all business should be suspended until the contested seats were determined. The issue between the two factions was brought up direct when the Douglas men moved the adoption of a resolution authorizing the chairman to appoint a committee of one from each congressional district to recommend state electors and delegates-at-large to the national convention. Since the adoption of this resolution would virtually place the power of naming the delegates in the hands of the chairman, the administration forces contested the resolution and proposed that the delegates should be nominated in open convention and the vote on confirmation taken by counties. After an animated debate, the Douglas delegates finally conceded the selection of district delegates by the congressional districts, and as thus amended the

³⁷Journal, Jan. 12.

resolution was adopted. The committee on resolutions and the committee to select a state central committee were both appointed by the chairman.

With these matters disposed of, the Douglas men had achieved a complete triumph; they now proposed a resolution pledging the support of the Democratic party of Indiana to the Charleston nominee, and instructing the delegation to vote as a unit for Douglas and to use all honorable means to secure his nomination. The administration men proposed several alternatives: Either to instruct the entire delegation for Joseph Lane, or to send the whole delegation uninstructed, or to instruct only the state delegation and authorize the districts to send their delegations instructed or uninstructed, as they saw fit. The original resolution was adopted by a vote of 265 to 129.

The resolutions adopted repudiated all sectional parties, approved the settlement of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy and the popular sovereignty doctrine, promised to defend the actions of the administration "on all proper occasions," instructed the Indiana delegation to vote as a unit for Douglas, condemned the Harper's Ferry episode, commended the Dred Scot decision and approved the Cincinnati platform as expounded in Buchanan's letter of acceptance.

There was no contest over the selection of candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. Cyrus L. Dunham, the administration candidate, withdrew, and Thomas A. Hendricks was nominated by acclamation, and David Turpie was selected as lieutenant-governor on the second ballot.

The state ticket, the platform and the entire proceedings were pretty generally accepted by the Democratic press, but the administration organs and the dispossessed leaders

were vindictive, and it was manifest that the trouble had in no sense been allayed.³⁸ On being reminded that the Democratic organization had declared for Douglas and that the mass of the Democratic voters were for him, Senator Bright replied: "Yes, the state convention did instruct for Douglas, but Hendricks and McDonald, Hammond and Dunham consented to these instructions without consulting me."³⁹ (The manner in which the opposition manifested itself will be described hereafter.)

The Republican state convention was held on February 22. The attendance was large and the meeting was harmonious and enthusiastic. Pleasant A. Hackleman was unanimously elected temporary and permanent chairman. Lane and Morton were nominated together by acclamation. The resolutions adopted condemned the disunion sentiment, opposed the extension of slavery into the territories, favored the passage of a homestead law and a railroad to the Pacific ocean by the most central practicable route.⁴⁰ The state meeting held to ratify the proceedings of the Chicago convention took place on August 29.

The Democratic national convention met in Charleston on April 23, 1860, and after an animated contest, and the secession of the extreme southern delegates, it adjourned on May 3 to meet in Baltimore on June 18. During the interim between the two conventions, numerous county and district conventions assembled in this state and pledged anew their allegiance to Douglas and his program. The Baltimore convention assembled on June 18, and after the secession of more southern delegates, it nominated Doug-

³⁸See article from Rushville Jacksonian. Cited in Sentinel, Jan. 21.

³⁹Woollen, p. 230.

⁴⁰Journal, Feb. 23, 1860.

las for the presidency, and although he received a vote of only 181½, instead of 202, which was the required two-thirds, he was declared nominated by a formal resolution. Meantime, the seceders organized a rival convention and nominated Breckinridge and Lane.

The schism in the Democratic party was rendered irreconcilable by the nomination of two national tickets and afforded the Breckinridge Democrats in this state a pretext for perfecting an independent organization, although they were in honor bound to support the state ticket nominated by the 11th of January convention. On June 28, the Democratic state central committee met and summoned a mass convention to meet in Indianapolis on July 18 to ratify the nomination of Douglas. This meeting was largely attended by Democrats from all over the state; speeches were made by well-known politicians; an appropriate celebration was had; and resolutions were adopted condemning those persons who were attempting to disorganize the party in Indiana.⁴¹

Meantime, Bright and Fitch were busily engaged in perfecting the Breckinridge organization.⁴² To advocate the interests of the Breckinridge cause, Bright established a weekly newspaper in Indianapolis, which he called the Old Line Guard, and he excused his irregularity by asserting that he had not been consulted in the adoption of the Douglas instructions by the convention of January 11th.⁴³ Bright was too shrewd a politician to believe that Breckinridge could carry the state; his paramount object was to impair Douglas' chances to the full extent of his ability. In a speech at Bedford on July 28th, he denounced the

⁴¹Sentinel, July 3 and 19, 1860.

⁴²Journal, July 10, 1860.

⁴³Life of Hendricks, p. 212.

politicians and press of the state who supported Douglas as venal and corrupt.⁴⁴ He tried unsuccessfully to induce Cyrus L. Dunham to join the bolters.⁴⁵ He was especially active in the Fourth congressional district, but his efforts were rewarded with scant success.⁴⁶

At length, on July 10, a call was issued for a mass convention to meet in Indianapolis on July 31 to ratify the nomination of Breckinridge and Lane. The call was unsigned, but was issued from the office of the Indianapolis Locomotive, in the form of large posters. J. R. Elder, the chairman of the late state Democratic central committee, was one of the proprietors of this paper, and was understood to be acting in the unofficial capacity of state chairman for the Breckinridge men.⁴⁷ The convention of July 31 was largely attended; cheap transportation facilities were afforded; a procession was had; speeches were made; a central committee was named; an electoral ticket selected; and a long list of resolutions adopted endorsing the platform of principles adopted at Baltimore on June 23, approving of the nomination of Breckinridge and Lane, endorsing Bright and Fitch and the administration of Buchanan, denouncing the Douglas platform, but admitting its superiority over the Republican platform, and advising Democrats to perfect their local organizations in the interest of the Breckinridge ticket.⁴⁸

After the foregoing resolutions were adopted, a supplementary resolution was introduced, authorizing the Breckinridge state central committee to confer with the Douglas

⁴⁴Sentinel. July 31, 1860.

⁴⁵Woollen, p. 330.

⁴⁶Lawrenceburg Register.

⁴⁷Journal. July 11, 1860.

⁴⁸Journal, Aug. 1, 1860.

state central committee, with a view to entering into a compromise to run a joint electoral ticket. In making up the compromise ticket, the joint committee was authorized to select new electors, or to select either of the two existing electoral tickets, or to select a sufficient number of electors from each. When the returns from the other states were received, the electors were to vote for that candidate who was certain to receive the highest number of votes from the other states.⁴⁹ The compromise resolution was adopted by the convention by an uncertain vote, and the general impression prevailed that it would be rejected by the Douglas committee, as it had been in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.⁵⁰ This proposal was promptly rejected by the Indianapolis Sentinel and the New Albany Ledger,⁵¹ "the brains of the Douglas press," and their action, it was safely assumed, could be "accepted as a safe indicative of that of the state committee."⁵²

However, the Breckenridge committee formally carried out their part of the agreement. On July 31 this proposal, signed by each member of the committee, was submitted to Mr. N. B. Palmer, the chairman of the Douglas state central committee. On August 2, Mr. Palmer acknowledged receipt of this communication and promised to lay it before the Douglas committee at his earliest opportunity. A meeting of the Douglas committee was called for August 17 to consider the fusion proposal and to fill the vacancies on the electoral ticket. On the same day Mr. Talbot, the

⁴⁹Sentinel, Aug. 1, 1860.

⁵⁰Journal, Aug. 1, 1860.

⁵¹The Ledger assured the Breckenridge men that Democrats would vote for no man "who is not pledged, full and unequivocally, to the support of Stephen A. Douglas." Cited in Sentinel, Aug. 3, 1860.

⁵²Journal, Aug. 3, 1860.

Breckenridge chairman, wrote Mr. Palmer that as he had received no reply to his communication of July 31, he hoped the matter might receive immediate attention. For some reason, there was not a full attendance of the members of the Douglas committee, and no formal action was taken. However, "from correspondence" and "interchange of views," the chairman had ascertained that the Douglas committee were "unanimously of the opinion that they have no authority to act in the premises,"⁵³ and this action virtually constituted an official dismissal of the entire proposal.

The Breckenridge rapprochement, as has been shown, was politely but firmly rejected; the question of nominating a state ticket was still in abeyance, but as early as July 28 rumors were circulated that it was the intention of the regulars to nominate a separate ticket during the ensuing summer.⁵⁴ The Douglas men were naturally disturbed by these reports, and in a circular issued to the Democracy on September 3, the central committee counseled all Democrats to lay aside their family quarrels and unite together as one party for the attainment of a common cause.⁵⁵

On September 17 there was a meeting of the Breckenridge state central committee in Indianapolis, called to consider the question of nominating a separate state ticket. At the opening of the session the sentiment in favor of nominating a state ticket prevailed and a resolution to that effect was passed; on subsequent deliberation, however, the resolution was defeated by a majority of one, after "an excited and angry discussion." A proposition was then ad-

⁵³Sentinel. Aug. 21, 1860.

⁵⁴Sentinel, July 28, 1860.

⁵⁵Sentinel, Sept. 4, 1860.

vanced to make overtures to the Douglas committee relative to the selection of a joint electoral ticket, but this proposal was voted down. It was finally agreed that no formal peace offering should be made to the Douglas men, but an unofficial committee was designated to confer with Mr. N. B. Palmer and Mr. J. J. Bingham, the only members of the Douglas central committee who were in Indianapolis. This committee consisted of Judge Hardin, a presidential elector; Levi Sharks and Dr. T. D. Lemon, members of the Breckenridge state central committee, and Mr. M. G. Bright. The conference of these six men was held in the presence of Mr. J. E. McDonald. The Breckenridge men wished to ascertain the feelings of the Douglas committee on two points: First, whether, "if the Breckenridge committee declined to nominate a separate ticket, and supported the present state ticket, it should not be claimed as a Douglas triumph." Second, whether, "if a sub-committee be appointed by the Breckenridge committee, to make some overtures on the matter under discussion, whether they would be entertained by the Douglas committee." To the first of these questions the Douglas men responded that they "intended, if the ticket was elected by the united vote of the party * * * not to claim it as a 'Douglas triumph,' but as a Democratic victory, a victory of the conservative citizens of Indiana over a common enemy." As to considering overtures for peace, the two Douglas men declined to assume the responsibility of acting for the committee, but they promised to call the Douglas committee together at an early day to confer on this question, and that whatever proposals were made by the Breckenridge sub-committee would be given respectful consideration. When the interview closed, the Douglas committeemen were requested to remain at their offices, as

they might be called into conference a second time; they remained as requested, but no further conferences were held.⁵⁶ When the Breckenridge conferees returned to report to their colleagues, the discussion was resumed and was continued until 2 o'clock in the morning. The meeting then adjourned, after concluding definitely not to nominate a state ticket, but they attempted to cast the onus of any distaster on the Douglas men by the adoption of a resolution declaring "that in view of the conciliatory overtures which have, from time to time, been made to the friends of Mr. Douglas in this state, and rejected by them, if the present state ticket be defeated, they, and they alone, will be responsible for the result."⁵⁷

So far as the leaders were concerned, they had exhausted their powers to effect an amalgamation of the two factions of the party, and henceforth each was to tread its own path to destruction. The consternation produced by the success of the Republicans at the state election led to proposals to renew the efforts to effect an amalgamation of all elements opposed to the election of Lincoln.⁵⁸ In Vanderburg county the friends of Douglas and Breckenridge held a joint meeting and adopted a resolution in favor of the formation of a joint electoral ticket,⁵⁹ but

⁵⁶I have followed the account given in the *Sentinel* of September 24, which bears every evidence of good faith and authenticity. The account given in the *Boone County Pioneer*, a Breckenridge organ, that the Douglas committeemen agreed to give the Breckenridge committee some assurance as to whether they would accede to the proposals made and that no answer was ever given, bears evidence of partizan bias and has been rejected as untrustworthy.

⁵⁷*Sentinel*, Sept. 20, 1860.

⁵⁸*Sentinel*, Oct. 13, 1860.

⁵⁹*Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1860.

fusion was clearly impossible, and as a result the Democrats approached the coming contest with divided forces.

The Democrats relied on the superiority of their candidates, the tenets of their platform, the prestige of their party and the effectiveness of their organization to carry the October elections. The reverses which they experienced in Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania demonstrated conclusively that, unless there was a marked revulsion of public sentiment, the Republican party would sweep the North in November and secure enough electoral votes to elect their candidate, and that in order to produce a revulsion of public sentiment it was imperative that a new issue be injected into the campaign. After the October elections the probable defeat of the Democratic party was universally conceded. As early as October 3 John D. Defrees expressed the conviction in a private letter that the election of Lincoln was a "fixed fact."⁶⁰ The Sentinel, in its issue of October 13, predicted that all of the northern states, with the possible exception of California and Oregon, would cast their electoral votes for Lincoln. David Turpie, who was diligently engaged in conducting his campaign for lieutenant-governor when the news of Breckenridge's nomination arrived, concluded that the prospects of Democratic success in the state had been seriously jeopardized by the action taken at Baltimore. Later in the campaign, as the Presidential elections approached, he observed that "on all sides [there] were evidences of an approaching political disaster." There were instances in some counties, especially in the northwestern part of the state, where every county officer, elected two years before as a Democrat, on the regular ticket, had changed his party affiliations and carried his friends and relatives with

⁶⁰Sentinel, Nov. 6, 1860.

him. At the political meetings and conferences, many persons stated that while they regarded Douglas as "the greatest and purest statesman of the age" and while they esteemed Mr. Breckenridge very highly, they were convinced that neither could be elected and they therefore proposed to vote for Lincoln.⁶¹ In a letter to the New York Journal of Commerce, written from Atlanta on October 19, a Georgian said that prior to the October elections the South "generally believed" that Lincoln would be elected; after the state elections, the success of the Republican party was "universally conceded."⁶² The influential southern press, including the *Charleston Mercury*, the *New Orleans Delta* and the *Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser*, concurred in this belief.⁶³ There is, in fact, abundant evidence that the Douglas men considered it "a hopeless task to continue the struggle."⁶⁴

⁶¹Turple, p. 183ff.

⁶²Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 20, 1860.

⁶³As early as October 13, Mr. L. M. Kellett, in a letter to the *Charleston Mercury*, regarded the success of the Republican party "to be so imminent" that common prudence required him to consider what course the south ought to pursue. (Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 13, 1860.) The *New Orleans Delta* predicted a Republican victory and declined to wait until "the November election shall have confirmed the presages of the recent contests at the north" to determine on its course of action. (Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 17, 1860.) The *Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser* considered that the result of the October elections "renders it certain that the Helper candidate will be elected to the Presidency . . ." (Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 25, 1860.) A Georgia planter, writing to the *New York Journal of Commerce* said the south regarded the election of Lincoln as an assured fact. (Cited in Sentinel, Nov. 2, 1860.) The *New York Herald* repeatedly conceded the probability of Lincoln's election. (Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 27, 1860.)

⁶⁴This is the opinion expressed by the Journal in its issue of Oct. 25, 1860.

After contemplating the manifestations of political disaster, the disruption of their party organization and the irrepressible exuberance of their opponents, the Democratic managers reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that unless some great and unexpected revolution should take place in the sentiment of the people of the free states, Republican success was assured. To prevent what many Democrats sincerely believed would be a national calamity, they injected a new issue into the campaign which was consciously designed to intimidate northern voters and restrain them from contributing to the impending national disaster. This issue was the reiterated threat of disunion which emanated from the South and which was assiduously perpetrated on northern readers by the purveyors of news. On October 16th, a week after the state elections, the *Indianapolis Journal* enumerated the outstanding and paramount issues of the campaign and concluded by admonishing the Republicans that they "must be prepared for a new phase of the contest, or rather an old one exalted into a new importance—the 'Disunion alarm'." Their conclusion, that the Democrats "mean to rely almost entirely on the virtue of fear to drive Republicans from their duty" is scarcely capable of successful refutation. The threat of disunion, which had been advanced by the south for a generation, even on the most inconsiderable provocation, we now know to have been a sincere determination. Its effect on the northern voters in 1860 was wholly negligible. The reason that the threat of disunion was regarded by the north as "merely idle gasconade" and not a "sincere determination" was that the threat had lost its pungency through repeated reiteration. The fable of the apprehensive shepherd who repeatedly and falsely announced that the wolf was coming, was employed with equal effect

by those who professed to believe that the disunion alarm had emerged from the realm of idle speculation and had assumed the substance and proportions of a grim reality, and by those who regarded it as a phantom or a specter conjured up by designing politicians.

The trilogy of evils implicit in this rejuvenated issue were a long and bloody fratricidal war, irreparable industrial and commercial disaster and the creation of a southern confederacy separated from its northern colleague only by an imaginary boundary line. That the predictions of these political prophets were partially fulfilled constitutes no evidence that they reposed any confidence in their own prognostications, and the failure of their efforts to arouse and sustain the apprehensions of northern voters constitutes satisfactory proof that the disunion alarm was regarded merely as "a scare crow to frighten timid nerves."

The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, the leading and dominant Democratic party organ of the state, inaugurated its inter-election campaign on October 10, the day after the election, in a restrained but suggestive editorial. "The mortification of defeat", they said, "is nothing compared with the anxiety which every sagacious man must feel, in view of the impending future, and, at the risk of being called an alarmist, we would say to our business men, our moneyed men, and those of large property interests, that they may do well to temper their exultation today with a little reflection upon the result of this sectional triumph." From this time until the elections in November, the *Sentinel* carried elaborate articles, copied from the most influential and opinion-forming southern newspapers narrating in great wealth of detail the progress of the southern revolution. The ability, character, influence, reputation and geographical distribution of the southern press and public men whose

editorials and speeches were thus reproduced and disseminated and which must have been read and meditated by thousands of voters should have produced a profound impression on the public mind. The fact that no such impression was produced demonstrates either that the confidence of the northern voter in the southern leadership was seriously impaired or that the effect of this threatening propaganda was to inspire in the minds of the northern electorate a determination to subject this southern bluster to a concrete test. The southern newspapers whose editorials were chiefly relied upon to intimidate northern voters were the *Charleston Mercury*, the *New Orleans Picayune*, the *New Orleans Delta*, the *Montgomery Mail*, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the *Richmond Enquirer*, *De Bow's Review*, the *St. Augustine Examiner*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Charleston Courier*. All of these papers counseled disunion in the event of Lincoln's election which they conceded to be a certainty. They emphasized the commercial derangement which secession would entail; the reciprocal industrial alliances which could be perfected with England and other European nations; the interdependent commercial relations subsisting between the South and the great Northwest which would be paralyzed; the isolation of Indiana and the neighboring states in the event of the suspension of commercial intercourse with the South. The economic, social and political reaction of the South as set forth in these editorials is entitled to greater respect. They were called upon, according to the *Montgomery Advertiser*, to choose between "submission" and "a glorious career of uninterrupted prosperity as a separate nationality."⁶⁵ According to the *New Orleans Delta*, the South was obliged to decide whether they wished to become "the

⁶⁵Cited in *Sentinel*, Oct. 25, 1860.

subject provinces" of the north.⁶⁶ The *Montgomery Mail* predicted that if Alabama determined to submit there would be an immediate exodus of hundreds of planters from the state, who would decline to hold their property "subject to the control of the Abolitionists" and that the state would be rendered desolate by submission.⁶⁷

The letters, speeches and interviews of southern leaders were likewise paraded with great ostentation. On October 13, the *Sentinel* reproduced in full a letter of Mr. L. M. Keitt, written for the *Charleston Mercury*, in which he said that in the event of Lincoln's election, "I shall advise disunion promptly." This letter is remarkable as a characteristic statement of the radical southern statesmen and for the gripping eloquence of the language in which it is expressed. He was convinced that the success of the Republicans would "develop a quarrel * * * which no compromise can reach." A quarrel which was "irreconcilable because it had taken possession of the imagination and the conscience." "Irreconcilable enmity is embodied in the very platform of the party. Inextinguishable hatred gleams all through the recorded declarations of its chieftains, and flames out through the avowals of its nominees." In its issue of October 17, the *Sentinel* reported a speech of Senator Slidell of Louisiana to his constituents. There was a time when "the word disunion fell upon his ear with painful dissonance"; when he had "unbounded faith in the permanence of our institutions" and when he "rejected as almost blasphemous the mere intimation of the possibility of their dissolution." But his views had undergone a gradual transformation and he had reluctantly arrived at the conviction that a disruption of the Union could only

⁶⁶Cited in *Sentinel*, Oct. 17, 1860.

⁶⁷*Journal*, Oct. 23, 1860.

be "permanently averted by impressing upon the northern mind the belief which it so obstinately rejects, that the South can, by any degree of wrong and humiliation, be forced into resistance."⁶⁸ In a speech at Cooper Institute in New York on October 24, Hershel V. Johnson asserted that the election of Lincoln would put the Union in serious peril. In a speech at Montgomery, Alabama, on October 26, Toombs of Georgia "urged resistance to the death" in the event of Lincoln's election.⁶⁹ Alexander H. Stephens was opposed to revolution in the event of Lincoln's election,⁷⁰ but he expressed the fear that in the event of Republican success "no earthly power can prevent civil war."⁷¹ Of the border state papers quoted, the *Louisville Democrat* was convinced as early as September that the disunion threats had become too alarming to be treated lightly.⁷² As the November elections approached, the *Washington Constitution* took a "lugubrious view of the impending crisis" and expressed the conviction that every person who knew the "present temper and determination" of the South would be made to shudder at the prospect.⁷³ Of the northern papers, the *New York Herald* was the most diligent in the reproduction of southern revolutionary documents and the most pessimistic in its comments thereon. As early as October 15, they said that if the politicians and orators correctly reflected public sentiment "there is a strong inclination towards secession."⁷⁴ On October 20, the *Herald* re-

⁶⁸Quoted from *New Orleans Delta*.

⁶⁹Journal, Oct. 31, 1860; see also Sentinel, Oct. 31, 1860.

⁷⁰Cited in Sentinel, Oct. 31, 1860.

⁷¹Washington correspondent of *Cincinnati Enquirer*, cited in Sentinel, Nov. 2, 1860.

⁷²Cited in Sentinel of Sept. 22 and Oct. 13, 1860.

⁷³Cited in Sentinel of Oct. 29, 1860.

⁷⁴Cited in Sentinel of Oct. 15, 1860.

ported that the "manifestations of public sentiment" in South Carolina betrayed a resolution to secession in the event of Lincoln's election and that the success of the Republicans was undoubtedly "charged with the explosive combustibles of a revolutionary order of things."⁷⁵ On October 26, the *Herald* recorded the "alarming progress of revolution" in the South; Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia and South Carolina were for secession; the partisans of Breckenridge, Douglas and Bell all agreed that the election of Lincoln would be the "signal for revolt"; the country was on the "eve of by far the greatest danger that ever threatened the country."⁷⁶ Again they marveled that the North was "buying and selling and marrying and making merry" while the country was "on the brink of a social and political volcano."⁷⁷ By the beginning of November the *Herald* concluded that "from all the sources of intelligence to which we have access" and "from every symptom and sign of the times" it was probable that a considerable number of the southern states would withdraw during the interval between Lincoln's election and inauguration.⁷⁸ They predicted that there would be "stagnation in business, and a commercial revulsion, commencing at the south," which would "carry desolation and calamity to the north," and that the day was not far distant when Republican merchants and factory hands would curse the day they were ever induced to join a fanatical party. The election of a sectional President could not take place without "a shock and a recoil" as the southern people were "in a very disturbed, uneasy, unsettled and revolutionary condition of

⁷⁵Cited in *Sentinel* of Oct. 20, 1860.

⁷⁶Cited in *Sentinel* of Oct. 20, 1860.

⁷⁷Cited in *Sentinel* of Oct. 27, 1860.

⁷⁸Cited in *Sentinel* of Nov. 2, 1860.

mind" and their "prevailing idea" seemed to be to wait for "some direct abolition provocation from the new dynasty before embarking upon that unexplored sea of southern confederacy."⁷⁹

To disabuse the public mind and counteract the influence of this intimidating propaganda, the Republican press displayed equal diligence. On October 13, when the results of the October elections had produced their expected reaction at the South, the *Indianapolis Journal* referred to the "fuming and fretting" of the Carolinas; the "great demonstrations of wrath and patriotism"; and the "key note of the music that will be played and brayed and belled in every pitch from the threatening to the pathetic, from bullying to begging," until the close of the campaign. They assured their readers that they might fully expect "lots of just such demonstrations of this 'cockade foolery'" and not allow themselves to be dismayed by a "Mumbo Jumbo, a pumpkin head with a candle in it." Two days later they expressed the conviction that "there was nothing either in the present movements of the people of the United States, or in the political platform of any strong party in the country, that makes a dissolution of the Union an event probable, or even possible. Still, the signs of a lingering strife, supported by demagogues and their partisans, who are too weak to be dangerous and yet strong enough to be mischievous, are already discernible in every section of the Republic." This strife, they concluded, would continue as long as demagogues were able to maintain their pernicious influence over the minds of their followers. Such a "petty disturbance of the national harmony may be regarded as an incurable evil" because a free government must tolerate a

⁷⁹Cited in *Sentinel* of Oct. 23, 1860.

class of "factions and unprofitable citizens." The disunion sentiment of the South was merely "the insane ravings of its nullification politicians."⁸⁰

As interpreted by the *Journal*, the disunion threats were mere bluster; those who fomented this sentiment were ambitious, intemperate, designing politicians without influence or a respectable following; an overwhelming majority of the southern people were staunch supporters of the Union; the repeated threats were being used by designing and unscrupulous politicians to produce business disaster and commercial disturbances for the purpose of influencing the election. It was the purpose of these men to parade in the darkest colors and with the most appalling distortions, the folly of a few southern extremists; to warn business men to prepare for a crash; and to "exaggerate every insolvency into a warning of coming ruin."⁸¹ No intelligent person should be either surprised or dismayed by this disunion sentiment; experience of thirty years had prepared them for it; "whether it means anything more this time than formerly is doubtful"; but "if it does it is the duty of all honest men to bring its meaning out, and have the question raised by it fully and finally settled." These threats of disunion were made either to "drive us to concessions" or "to herald a revolution in the government." Even if disunion were "respectable in its pretensions," the use made of it by Democratic papers would "shame it out of respectable associations." In the South it no doubt had "a certain degree of significance among a certain class"; in the North, it was "the uttermost reach of Democratic drivel," and a political "trick to beat the Republicans." The *Washington Union*, the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, the *New York Herald*,

⁸⁰*Journal*, Oct. 19.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Oct. 16.

the *New York Express*, the *New York News*, and the *New York Journal of Commerce*, by following the *Montgomery Mail*, the *New Orleans Delta* and the *Charleston Courier*, had done their best "to create a panic" by "preaching the imminence and terrors of disunion," thus depreciating stock, ruining business and attracting voters.⁸² This "disunion panic" was only temporarily successful. It was estimated that the stockholders of the New York Central railroad lost upwards of \$1,000,000 while the panic lasted, but it was not of sufficient duration or importance to produce any perceptible effect on the election.⁸³ The Republican papers were able to discern a strong anti-disunion sentiment in the South. The *Journal* thought that five-sixths of the people were loyal to the Union,⁸⁴ and they cited the opinions of the *New York Tribune*, the *Daily Progress* of Newbern, North Carolina, the *Valley Star*, the *Richmond Whig*, the *Memphis Enquirer*, the *Helena (Ark.) Shield*, the *Mount Sterling (Ky.) Whig* and the *Richmond Examiner* to sustain their contention.⁸⁵

The editorial opinions of the *Sentinel* were exceptionally pessimistic and were compounded of truth, inspired by genuine apprehension, and buncombe, calculated to affect the electorate advantageously. The success of the Republicans they regarded as an "omen of evil," a "verdict in favor of the 'irrepressible conflict' doctrines of Seward and Lincoln, which inevitably tend to a division of the confederacy"; an event which would inaugurate "a strife which must end either in civil war for the mastery or a peaceful

⁸²Journal, Oct. 30.

⁸³Ibid., Nov. 3.

⁸⁴Ibid., Oct. 31.

⁸⁵Journal, Nov. 6.

division of the Union."⁸⁶ They detailed in elaborate articles the hostile activities which were being carried forward in the southern states, and professed sincere alarm at the statements of leaders, the pledges of the states, the purchase of arms, the active military demonstrations, and the determined response aroused by appeals at the hustings; the Central Bank of Alabama had declined to discount paper until after the election; negroes which formerly sold readily for \$1,800, now fetched barely \$1,000; money lenders were collecting their money and refusing to loan; military companies were actively drilling and those in Charleston had subscribed to an oath that Lincoln should not be inaugurated in peace; a southern convention had been summoned to meet on the second Monday of November;⁸⁷ the elections in South Carolina had resulted mainly in the selection of extreme men; the southern banks were declining to advance on cotton;⁸⁸ Maryland was in an incipient stage of revolution; the border states were resolved to stand by the cotton states;⁸⁹ a meeting of the political chieftains had taken place at Senator Hammond's residence near Augusta on October 25, including the entire congressional delegation, Orr, ex-governor Gist, Adams and others; at this meeting "the opinion was unanimous on instant secession in the event of Lincoln's election"; similar meetings were held in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida.⁹⁰

The state central committees were equally perturbed. On September 3, the Douglas state central committee of

⁸⁶Oct. 9, 13 and 15, and Nov. 6, 1860.

⁸⁷Letter from Georgia, written on Oct. 14, given in *Sentinel* of Oct. 30.

⁸⁸*Sentinel*, Oct. 19, quoting the correspondence of the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

⁸⁹*Sentinel*, Oct. 26, quoted from *New York Herald*.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, Nov. 2.

Indiana issued a circular to the voters which was designed primarily to counteract the divisive influences at work in the party and in the course of which they assured the electorate that the success of the Republican party would "endanger the peace, prosperity, and even the perpetuity of the government."⁹¹ As the presidential election approached they issued a second circular in which they asserted that the Union was in grave peril. "Already the note of preparation for so great and terrible a calamity is borne to us on every southern breeze. The stability of business, the rights of property, the existence of our party, and the continuance of the Union, are involved in this contest."⁹² On November 2, the *Sentinel* printed an address of the Douglas Central Committee of Kentucky to the Douglas Democrats of Indiana in which the opinion is stridently expressed that "the Union is in immediate and imminent peril."

The state campaign was carried on by a series of joint debates between Lane and Hendricks and Morton and Turpie. These four standard bearers "made only a tentative canvass" for the offices for which they were named. There was an understanding in both parties that, if the Republicans were successful, Lane was to be sent to the Senate and Morton was to be governor; if the Democrats were successful, Hendricks was to be sent to the Senate and Turpie was to be governor. Prior to 1856, Morton had been a Democrat of the "ultra or extreme section" and the Democratic press and often the people in the audience charged Morton with political apostasy.⁹³ Of the two Republican candidates, Lane was the more conciliatory on the paramount issue of slavery and slavery extension. In fact

⁹¹Ibid., Sept. 4.

⁹²*Sentinel*, Oct. 22, 1860.

⁹³Turpie, 183ff.

the attitude of Lane was frequently misconstrued by his political opponents, who charged that on the slavery issue he was a "buckwheat politician" and was "steadily pursuing what he thought the popular breeze" to "adapt himself to the present temper of the public mind" and catch votes.⁹⁴ South of the National road he was especially pliable. In his speech at New Albany he extolled the compromising temper of Henry Clay and professed to be a Whig of the old school. This declaration led the *Sentinel* to remark that "in the southern or conservative portions of the state the Republican candidate for governor is eloquent in his expressions of sympathy with the political views of the great Kentucky statesman, and pronounces himself a Henry Clay Whig."⁹⁵ As few of Lane's speeches have been preserved, it is impossible to assess the real value of these charges, but there can be little doubt that many of the Republican journals were far less heroic at some times than at others in advocating the restriction of slavery and this disposition is more conspicuous as the threat of secession became an imminent reality. In their platform of February 22, the Republicans declared that they were opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories; equally opposed to "any interference with slavery where it exists under the sanction of state law"; and in favor of the protection of the states from "lawless invasions" designed to interfere with their peculiar domestic institutions.⁹⁶ In his speech of acceptance, Col. Lane expressed himself in favor of a change in the fugitive slave law "so as to make it not less effective, but less odious." "On the question of slavery, the platform adopted represented his

⁹⁴*Sentinel*, March 17 and 19, 1860.

⁹⁵Issue of April 23, 1860.

⁹⁶*Journal*, Feb. 23, 1860.

views precisely."⁹⁷ In a speech in Scott county, where he should have been especially conciliatory, he insisted that freedom was national and slavery local; that there must be no further extension of slavery into the territories; and that there must be no interference with slavery where it existed.⁹⁸ In its reactions on the slavery issue, the *Indianapolis Journal* was even more pliable and conciliatory than Lane. A week after the state elections, when the editor was doubtless perturbed by the emotions produced by the recent Republican successes, an editorial appeared which was promptly branded as a somersault and an exhibition of political hypocrisy. The burden of this editorial was to "let slavery alone." That, said the *Journal*, was the great object of the Republican party, the motive of their organization and the aim of their efforts. Give the institution neither help nor hurt by official patronage or policy, permit no state to interfere with it except within its own boundaries, leave it to its fate and it will soon cease to be a cause of national disturbance and will perish through the immutable operation of natural laws. An editorial of this character emanating from the one editorial office of the state which was supposed to speak the *ex cathreda* doctrines of the Republican elect, aroused political vibrations throughout the entire commonwealth and the *Fort Wayne Times* ventured the assertion that if the *Journal* had proclaimed this doctrine two years before, the editor would have been subjected to political proscription.⁹⁹

The Constitutional Union party had no state ticket in the field. On April 12, there was a meeting of the general committee of the party at Indianapolis at which resolutions

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸*Journal*, Sept 4, 1860.

⁹⁹*Journal*, Oct. 16, 1860; *Sentinel*, Oct. 17, 18 and 19, 1860.

were adopted approving the call for a national convention to meet at Baltimore on May 9; delegates were selected; and the executive central committee was invested with discretionary power to form an electoral state ticket.¹ On August 15, the Constitutional Union party held a state convention. The bulk of the delegates were from the southern part of the state. Presidential electors were named and resolutions were adopted ratifying the platform adopted and the nominations made for President and vice-President at Baltimore on May 10, 1860; and opposing "fusion or alliance with any other political organization." An address to the people of the state was issued, involving national questions only.²

In spite of their protestations of impartiality, the Bell and Everett men were more kindly disposed toward the Democrats than toward the Republicans. On October 3, three days before the election, the Union Central committee and the State committee of the Constitutional Union party issued a circular to the Bell and Everett men of the state, "in anticipation of the local elections to take place." They wished to avoid all "improper interference in the local affairs of any state"; they had nothing to urge against Mr. Lincoln "except that he is a thoroughly sectional candidate"; and since the state elections were sure "to have a most powerful bearing and influence upon the result of the Presidential election," the most certain way if not the only way to defeat Lincoln was "to cast your votes and your influence, on the 9th of October, against the candidates of the party that sustain him."³ On October 3, the same day on which the foregoing circular was issued, Mr. James

¹Journal and Sentinel, April 13, 1860.

²Journal and Sentinel, Aug. 10, 1860.

³Sentinel, Oct. 3, 1860.

G. Bryant, a member of the state executive committee of the Constitutional Union party, issued a statement to the Bell and Everett men of Indiana in which he said that it was "apparent that an attempt is to be made to transfer the Bell men—to the Democracy"; and that the resolution adopted at the state convention opposing fusion with any other party "means not only at the Presidential, but also at the state election." He was "satisfied that under no circumstances can the Bell men of Indiana be benefitted by the election of the Democratic state ticket." He therefore counselled the Bell and Everett men to "either vote the Republican state ticket, or not vote at all."⁴

On the face of it this circular bears all the marks of a palpable forgery. Mr. James G. Bryant was not a member of the state executive committee of the Constitutional Union party. He was present at the August convention and made one motion but there is no evidence that he ever held any official position in the party. Mr. A. H. Davidson, the chairman of the state executive committee asserted that Bryant's communications were entitled to no consideration. It was alleged that the communication was written by Jonathan S. Harvey, the Republican candidate for treasurer of state and that Bryant had been bribed to sign it.⁵

The Democratic press attributed the defeat of the party at the October elections to the fact that the Breckenridge Democrats, under the leadership of Bright and Fitch, had openly supported and voted for the Republican candidate. The *Indianapolis Sentinel* estimated that at least 20,000 Bell and Breckenridge electors supported Lane,⁶ a calcula-

⁴Journal, Oct. 3, 1860.

⁵Sentinel, Oct. 4, 1860.

⁶Issue of Oct. 15, 1860. This was proved by the fact that

tion which was manifestly designed to discredit Senator Bright and to arrest the deflection of Democratic voters who were daily joining the Republican ranks. David Turpie, who canvassed the entire state, and who was not unmindful of the impending disaster to his party, said later that he had "never entertained the opinion that the whole body of Breckenridge voters had given their support to the Republican state ticket."⁷ The *Lawrenceburg Register*, one of the most influential Democratic papers of the fourth congressional district, was less sweeping in its charges and expressed the conviction that the mass of the Breckenridge men were true to the Democracy. The Republican press generally contended that very few Breckenridge votes had been cast for their ticket. In Indianapolis it was known that some two or three Breckenridge men had voted the Republican ticket and they conceded the likelihood that a few other counties did likewise; but the great body of the Breckenridge men either did not vote at all or voted for Douglas, and in the southern part of the state the returns showed that they all voted the Democratic ticket.⁸ In this connection, Jesse D. Bright was singled out for especial condemnation.⁹ It was alleged that he and Senator Fitch had "united together in a common effort to defeat the Democratic state ticket." In a speech delivered at New

there were large Republican gains in the counties having a considerable Breckenridge vote.

⁷Turpie, p. 183.

⁸Journal, Oct. 17, 1860.

⁹In an editorial of Oct. 11, the *Sentinel* said: "Selfishness, personal animosities and revenge have done their work;" the Democratic party was "wounded in the house of its friends" and had suffered "a temporary defeat at the hands of those it has given the ability to do mischief."

Albany on October 8,¹⁰ Bright is alleged to have said in substance: "This Anti-Lecompton Douglas Democratic party must be defeated, and you may begin tomorrow, you will find no better time."¹¹ Moreover, it was publicly charged that Bright had voted the Republican state ticket;¹² that he had bet \$30,000 that the Republican ticket would be successful; that he had stated to a member of Congress that he owed the Democratic party nothing and would use his influence to defeat it; that he had been in consultation with the Republican managers prior to the election devising ways and means to defeat the Democratic ticket; that the Republican press had ceased abusing and applying the term "Bogus Bright" to him, and had advertised the Breckenridge meetings; that his party organ, the Old Line Guard, had announced that it would not support the Democratic ticket; and that the Breckenridge men openly admitted that they either did not vote at all or had electioneered and voted for Lane.¹³ Fitch had been more regular and had voted

¹⁰The day preceding the state election.

¹¹Sentinel, Oct. 16, quoted from the *Louisville Democrat*. A letter, signed by four persons who heard this speech and who were agreed on the statements made, was written to W. M. French, editor of the *Jeffersonville Republican*, for confirmation.

¹²The *New Albany Ledger*, cited in the Sentinel of Oct. 15, 1860, stated that it was "publically charged" in Jeffersonville that Bright had voted the Republican state ticket. A "gentleman of veracity" was found who asserted that he saw Bright's ballot and that he had voted the straight Republican ticket with one exception. (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, Oct. 17.) When Bright was accused of having voted the Republican ticket he replied that "it was nobody's business how he voted," and he charged the man who said he saw his ballot with being "a liar and a slanderer." (*Louisville Courier*, Oct. 26.)

¹³Sentinel, Oct. 18. In Jeffersonville, the home of Senator Bright, it was announced that the Breckenridge men voted "boldly and

the whole Democratic state ticket except for Hendricks.

The election of November 6, 1860, was an event of transcendent importance. The reaction of the South was swift and summary. To obtain a redress of grievances, they evoked the remedy of secession. The assurance of Lincoln's election was promptly followed by the resignation of federal officers; the unfurling of the palmetto and lone star flags; the calling of a convention of the people of South Carolina; the resignation of United States senators and other revolutionary acts. The effect produced on the temper and sentiments of the North defies accurate diagnosis. The best interpretation of the conflicting emotions which disturbed the soul of the North is to be found in an exceptionally well-thought-out and philosophical editorial in the *Journal* of December 7, 1860. In "times of commotion," said Mr. Sulgrove, when new questions arise and when new emergencies must be met, the ordinary guides of judgment fail and leave us in "a chaos of opinions" over which "much light must pass and the spirit of justice brood long, before a new world of defined and positive policy can be evoked." In such times each man must speak for himself or his "circle of immediate associates." Confronted

openly" for the Republican ticket in accordance with the plan set forth in Bright's New Albany speech of Oct. 8. (*Louisville Democrat*, cited in *Sentinel*, Oct. 11.) In its issue of Oct. 29 the *Sentinel* formally requested an answer from Bright on these questions, but he merely replied that he did not bet that Lane would be elected. (*Sentinel*, Oct. 30, 1860.) The *Lawrenceburg Register* said the "self-constituted leaders, who for years past have attempted to use the Democratic party for the gratification of their personal ambitions, did all they could to secure the success of the Republican cause." Bright was active in the fourth congressional district, but he was successful in only a few places in influencing voters to bolt the Douglas ticket.

by this troublesome dilemma, three remedies were proposed. The first of these was the remedy by coercion which ultimately prevailed; the second was the remedy by separation, permitting the erring sisters to depart in peace, and was advocated by Horace Greely; the third was the remedy by compromise, as advocated by Thurlow Weed. In Indiana, during the two months succeeding the election, there were distinguished partisans of all three plans, and the temper of all three elements of the Republican party was vividly revealed.

As early as a fortnight prior to the election, the *Sentinel* attempted to disclose that there was an irrepressible conflict in the Republican party between the radicals and the conservatives. These heterogeneous elements had banded themselves together to defeat the Democrats and secure the public plunder. The ultras or "rugged issue wing" of the party represented "its enthusiastic and working element" and believed devoutly in the "irrepressible conflict" and the "sacred antagonism" doctrines. The moderate element consisted of "the fossils who now hang upon it for the single purpose of securing political power" and advocated non-intervention and the laissez faire doctrines in regard to slavery.¹⁴ The representatives of the "rugged issue" or "latter day" Republicans were Oliver P. Morton, A. D. Streight, the *Indiana True Republican*, the *Terre Haute Express* and the *Madison Courier*. The representatives of the moderates were Henry S. Lane, Caleb B. Smith, John D. Defrees and the *Indianapolis Journal*. The irrepressibles advocated coercion; the moderates compromise, concession and conciliation. If the opinion of John D. Defrees is correct, the conservative Republicans had become frightened at the threatening aspect of political affairs

¹⁴Issue of Oct. 23.

and regretted that they had "raised a whirlwind which they fear they will be unable to direct or control."¹⁵

As the *Indianapolis Journal* doubtless exerted more influence in inspiring, molding and directing public sentiment than any one single agency in the state we are justified in tracing the genesis and evolution of its political philosophy at length. It must be admitted that during the dreadful suspense of the anti bellum crisis its leadership was both vacillating and ignoble; save for spasms of heroism, uttered in eloquent and vivid diction, and after regrettable apologetic wallowing, it endorsed the policy of the temporizers and advocated spineless and irresolute inaction. As early as October 31, they began advocating the doctrine of peaceable separation. After describing some of the treasonable actions of southern leaders, the details of which had just been given to the public, the *Journal* said: If the southern states wish to get out of the Union, "we have no objection to letting them try." They have been a "nuisance" in it for twenty years and no objection should be raised "to their trying the experiment of running a government." "We say, let this disunion folly have a fair trial. To give way to it again is only to adjourn the difficulty." In the same issue, however, they were guilty of a refreshingly heroic lapse. After reporting the substance of a speech of Hershel V. Johnson at Cooper Union on October 24, in which he asserted that the election of Lincoln would put the Union in peril; and a speech of Toombs at Montgomery, Alabama, in which he "urged resistance to the death" in the event of Lincoln's election, the *Journal* said: "If these two gentlemen are well acquainted with the state of popular feeling in their section of the Union; and if what Mr. Johnson seems to fear and what Mr. Toombs seems to desire, should

¹⁵Letter to the *Washington Star*, cited in *Sentinel* of Oct. 31.

take place, then it will become the duty of Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United States, to prove to the world, by the most overwhelming evidence, that the Constitution and laws of this Republic are stronger than all the traitors who have ever been sheltered under the protection of the American flag." On November 10, the *Journal* repeated with emphasis its former conviction that the South should not be molested in their attempt to form a separate confederacy; the hazards attending such an experiment would ultimately contribute to the failure of the enterprise. These opinions were doubtless original and indigenous as the *Tribune's* famous editorial was not reported in this state until November 12.¹⁶ On November 13, doubtless acting under the influence of this famous doctrine, the *Journal* submitted that "a union preserved only by intimidation and force is a mockery, and it is better broken than whole. If South Carolina and her associates in folly really want to leave the Union, they can go without a word of objection from any man north of Mason and Dixon's line. We would not turn our hand over to have them stay, if they must stay with the feeling of hostility and distrust which they proclaim is the only feeling they can ever hold toward the Union." "We do not believe in resisting any secession movement in the least." When they are tired of the new experiment, they will return "on the old terms, clearly and distinctly defined." Coercion they regarded as utterly out of the question.¹⁷ On November 19, they referred to the *Tribune's* editorial and said: "We expressed the same opinion when the discussion clamor first arose," and "the more we think of it the more we are confirmed in it." Not "what is legal and constitutional" but "what is best." "It

¹⁶Quoted in *Sentinel*. Nov. 12.

¹⁷Issue of Nov. 15.

may be best to follow the Constitution to the last, and enforce it at all hazards." "In the present case it seems clear to us that if the enforcement of the Constitution leads to civil war, we shall be better off to let the Constitution be broken, and save bloodshed." "Of what value will a union be that needs links of bayonets and bullets to hold it together?" "If any state will go from us, let it go"; "any attempt to restrain by force the secession of any state—would be unwise and calamitous in the last degree." Although the *Journal* adhered to the doctrines which they had elaborated, they expounded them less frequently and persistently from this time on. Their caution was doubtless produced by an event, the most important which transpired in this state between the election and the outbreak of the war.

On November 22, the Republicans held a celebration in the city of Indianapolis. Speeches were delivered by the more important men of the party and the meeting was attended by political leaders of all parties. Henry S. Lane took a rather minor part and delivered a "gentle and conciliatory" speech, and urged non-intervention and the preservation of the Union.¹⁸ By far the most important event of the entire celebration was the carefully prepared address of Oliver P. Morton, "the rising hope of the stern, unbending Republicans,"¹⁹ a character who was destined to be the Hoosier protagonist in the war for the preservation of the Union and taken for all in all the most considerable man which this state has yet produced. Without introduction or epilogue, Morton developed his philosophy of secession in a speech distinguished alike for its epigram-

¹⁸Sentinel, Nov. 23.

¹⁹Adapted, with one modification, from Lord Macaulay's celebrated but unfulfilled prophecy of Gladstone.

matic diction and its irrefragible logic.²⁰ The speaker contended that secession was impossible; and that if a state disobeyed the laws force should be used to discipline it. "If South Carolina gets out of the Union, I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet, after our best efforts have failed to compel her to submission to the laws." He did not think that treason was so wide-spread that the other states would unite with South Carolina to resist, but if they did he was in favor of applying the same remedy. "Better concede her independence to force, to revolution, than to right and principle." "If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this nation, it is worth one to preserve it." "Seven years is but a day in the life of a nation, and I would rather come out of a struggle at the end of that time, defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution, than to purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this nation into small and dishonored fragments."²¹ The effect of this speech was incalculable. It crystalized public senti-

²⁰The present writer is of the opinion that a clearer, more logical and better written disquisition of the confusing problems produced by the "Impatient vanity" of South Carolina and her sister commonwealth in their revolutionary deportment is not to be found in the literature of this epoch with the possible exception of Lowell's *Essays*.

²¹At the termination of this speech Gordon Tanner sent up four questions which he wished Morton to answer. This, Morton proceeded to do with great skill and ability. While the speaker was proceeding Mr. R. J. Ryan arose to ask "whether those questions were really prepared by a Democrat." When Mr. Tanner admitted that he had propounded the questions, Mr. Ryan declared that he agreed with everything that Morton had said "I, too, trust that if South Carolina gets out of the Union it will be at the point of the bayonet. My father and mother are buried at Barnwell in that state, and should she secede

ment and as the speaker was beyond all question to be the next governor of the state all doubts as to the attitude of the future chief executive in the event of war were dispelled.

Prior to the Presidential election, the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, which exercised a paramount influence in the Democratic party, was disposed to place the blame for the unfortunate condition of national politics on the Breckenridge Democrats. In an editorial of October 13, they charged the ultra pro-slavery advocates of the South with demand in the recognition and protection of negro slavery beyond the guarantees of the Constitution. On November 3, they declared that on the unyielding Breckenridge partisans "rests the terrible responsibility of the perils which now environ us—upon them must forever rest the deathless odium of the overthrow of our institutions." As public events grew more turbulent and threatening they were disposed to transfer the blame from the irreconcilable pro-slavery men of the South and their coadjutors and accessories in the North to the Republicans which they indiscriminately stigmatized as abolitionists. The constructive policy of the *Sentinel* in the event of secession was consistent and not unexpected. On October 19, they said: "We have ourselves argued, that the fact of his (Lincoln's) election alone, previous to any act of aggression upon the rights of the South, would not afford proper ground for the secession of any state." On November 7, the day after the election, they again laid down the postulate that the election of Lincoln did not of itself justify secession and subscribed in its entirety to the doctrine advocated with such diligence

from the Union I would go and with my own hands dig up their bones and bring them away." Journal Nov. 27, where Morton's speech is given in full.

by the *Journal* that "if it comes to this issue we are for parting with, our southern brethren in peace" and letting them try "the experiment of a separate confederacy." Ten days later, on November 17, they expressed the conviction that the South would "be permitted to go without any attempt to restrain them by force—there are but few of any class who would not prefer peaceable secession, rather than the horrors of civil war." On December 3, they asked "of what value to the Union would be subjugated states—states kept in their places by military power?" They then advanced the plan of aiding the loyal men of the South; enforcing the fugitive slave law; repealing all laws which were intended to obstruct that act; and awarding slave owners transit through and temporary sojourn in the free states.

On November 28, Mr. Robert Dale Owen contributed an elaborate and carefully prepared article to both the *Journal* and the *Sentinel* advocating that the South should be permitted to depart in peace. This doctrine was promptly reaffirmed by the *Journal* which said: "His view is substantially that urged by us on several occasions, and combatted with some force by several correspondents." On December 3, Mr. A. D. Streight answered Owen and the *Journal*. This doctrine only "deluded a considerable portion of the weak-minded into the belief that it needs but a mere show of fire-eating braggadocio to scare the whole community into conceding the most ridiculous proposition that ever was offered to an independent nation." Owen and his ilk were accessories before the fact. The laws of the country must and shall be obeyed.²²

²²*Sentinel*, Dec. 3.

PERSONAL GENESIS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By W. A. MACCORKLE, L.L.D., CHARLESTON, W. VA.

It is to be regretted that this discussion of an important epoch in the life of our country should not have on all sides the most profound thought, painstaking investigation and scholarly preparation. I regret that I can bring for your enlightenment none of these requisites, but only the efforts of one, who, throwing aside the multifarious details of executive and professional work in many directions, can engage for a brief moment in the investigation of this momentous historical event. Therefore I cannot hope to bring to your service the wide research which has been evinced by the scholarly and accomplished gentleman who has been in the forefront of the propaganda which is attempting to make John Quincy Adams the soul of the Monroe Doctrine. I believe with the century that President Monroe should have the credit, not only of announcing this great doctrine, but that in every sense of the word, he was capable of conceiving the act and taking the full responsibility of throwing into the teeth of the world the great principle, which has had such momentous influence on the destiny of this continent. It seems almost trite to say that outside of the Declaration of Independence, and the proclamation of President Lincoln, as to the abolition of slavery in the United States, that the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine was the most important historical event in the life of this country. It made free governments out of a whole continent, and day by day we can see it filling up the waste places of the earth, building into free constitutional life

the great South and Central American countries who are throwing off their swaddling clothes and are grasping with strong hands the principles of this great doctrine which is strengthening their lives for their own independence along the lines of the great fundamental principles of free governments.

Of late new ideas as to the personal genesis of this doctrine have been abroad in the land. I say it not unkindly, but the spirit of intellectual arrogance which comes with leisure and amplitude of time and opportunity for thought and investigation, joined with an abundance of financial and material power seems to have undertaken the task of locating within the eastern portion of our country the greater part of the glory of the life of this republic. The writers of that section, and they are legion, have devoted themselves to showing that the chief accomplishments of this great country of ours center around the East, and that those who have made the history of our land are mostly within its sacred confines. Whilst there is enough glory for all, we of the South, in this contention, claim only that which we believe to be ours by right. It must be remembered that Virginia and the South in the olden days when the cradle of the republic was still unsteadily rocking, were a very important part of the life of this government; that their patriotic men were walking sturdily along the rough paths of ruin or glory, and their patriots were evolving new and wonderful schemes of free government, and taking upon themselves a tremendous share of the burden of the conflict.

With the broad pages of our sacrifice and our accomplishment fully open, we hoped that it would be understood without argument that the South was an important factor in our early governmental life, without which factor this

republic could not have carried out its splendid destiny. It seems, however, from the writers of one great section of our country, that the life, the men, the accomplishments, and sacrifices of this great country have only been around that section nearest to the rising sun.

The very distinguished scholar, Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, of Cambridge, Mass., who yesterday addressed you, and I hold him in great respect for his many important historical investigations and studies, has been in the forefront of the discussion which has for its purpose the giving of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts the place in the thought of his countrymen, which, as to the Monroe Doctrine, has belonged to James Monroe.

The substantial beginning of this controversy originated from the finding by Mr. Ford of some papers at the home of Mr. Adams at Quincy, Massachusetts. Generally speaking, these papers consisted of the draft of the letter to Mr. Rush, several notes from the President to Mr. Adams, and the observations of Mr. Adams as to what occurred in reference to the note to the Russian minister. The draft to Mr. Rush showed the views of both Mr. Adams and the President in the amendments offered by each. The statement as to these findings was embodied in an address by Mr. Ford to the Massachusetts Historical Society on January, 1902, and was reprinted from its proceedings. Mr. Ford, one of the most distinguished scholars of the world in manuscripts, among other things, said:

"The notable enunciation of the doctrine that America was no longer open to colonization by any European power is hardly touched upon in the papers now printed. It was a doctrine that admittedly came from John Quincy Adams and there has never been any doubt as to its authorship. With what remains of the Monroe Doctrine a reasonable

doubt has been maintained; but I think the documents now published will show that no member of Monroe's cabinet, except his secretary of state, held a positive opinion on the general phases of Canning's proposals and of the Russian communications, or succeeded in attaining a position which was defensible from every point of view. Monroe himself has long been judged as unlikely to take so extreme a stand in the face of allied Europe, for he was by nature a timid man, and was at this time in poor health."

This statement was accentuated by the address of President Angell of the University of Michigan, made at Harvard, in which he says, " * * * standing here on ground made sacred by the presence, the life, the teaching of that great Harvard statesman, John Quincy Adams, to whose matchless courage and farsighted wisdom we owe the declaration which we call the Monroe Doctrine, but which might more justly be called the Adams Doctrine, I for one, cannot understand how any American citizen, and especially how any Massachusetts man, can recall except with a thrill of gratitude, and admiration that the great secretary of state was able to inspire the slow-moving and lethargic President to fling out the challenge of 1823 into the face of the allied sovereigns of continental Europe. James Monroe held the trumpet, but John Quincy Adams blew the blast. The notes have never died upon the air. They were heard in full force when another Massachusetts man, Richard Olney, sat in the chair of the secretary of state. Nor are they likely to die so long as Harvard successors to John Quincy Adams hold that executive chair."

This view very quickly took root as is evidenced by the statement of Charles Francis Adams made immediately after the statement of Mr. Ford: "In the paper just read, Mr. Ford has shown that, though called by the name of

Monroe, the famous doctrine set forth by the message of 1823, originated almost *verbatim, literatim et punctuatim*, as well as in scope and spirit, with Monroe's secretary of state."

With only two or three exceptions this view of the genesis of the Monroe Doctrine has been followed by the scholars and writers living in the East. The line of attack generally seems to be:

- (1). That President Monroe was timid, lethargic and incapable of grasping the great question at issue.
- (2). That the views previously held by Mr. Monroe were not in accord with the Monroe Doctrine.
- (3). That he actually did not conceive or write the doctrine.

Throughout the discussion of the question, there has been a persistent vein of thought and statement which I am illy able to understand. Mr. Ford speaks of President Monroe with almost plain disrespect of his ability and experience. The idea which seems to be inculcated by all is one of gross disparagement of the ability and experience of President Monroe. This seems to be the gist of the arguments and the very historian who has been chosen to write his life seems to have been stricken with the prevailing attitude and has incorporated in his history everything derogatory to the statesmanlike ability of the subject of his history. This biography is a most remarkable one. Nowhere throughout its pages does he evince any enthusiasm for the splendid character and mature ability of his great subject. Even in the discussion of the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, his criticism is a scantily veiled attack upon the subject of his discourse. Every failure or criticism, in a long and most momentous life, is brought to the

surface, and nowhere is he given the credit due him for his life of labor and sacrifice for this republic.

James Monroe filled more great places than any one in the history of this government. There was not a great position, outside of the judiciary, which was not filled with eminent ability by President Monroe. His life in the history of the diplomatic, the executive and the legislative departments of the American government, is absolutely unique. It is only lately, however, that his writings have been collected, and through them the people are beginning to understand the high and splendid character of the man who was the intimate friend of Jefferson, Madison and Marshall, the appointee of Washington, and one who served this republic faithfully and ably in the darkest hours of its life. The attacks have been peculiar in their manner. Mr. Ford characterizes him as timorous and President Angell speaks of him as slow-moving and lethargic, and a number of these writers engaged in this discussion, characterize this great President as without sufficient ability to have ridden the tempest and to have controlled the affairs of his administration in one of the greatest epochs in the life of this country. Even if they could prove, which is not granted, that Mr. Adams had conceived the ideas and wrote the draft of the Monroe Doctrine, which is absolutely disputed, they do not seem to be willing to give Mr. Monroe the credit of being the head of the administration which announced this great doctrine to the world. It is but fair that we examine the life of President Monroe and learn from the actual events of his life, whether he was one likely to hold the trumpet for this or any other man to blow doctrine to the world, or one who could have been controlled by his subordinate in any great crisis of governmental affairs.

I turn to the pages of John Quincy Adams himself, a man who was an egotist, and who gave but scant credit to any one else where he himself was concerned for confutation of those who would minimize the life of one of the great patriots of the republic.

In the darkest hour of the days of the Revolution, James Monroe, a mere boy, became one of the army of patriots attempting to perpetuate the liberties of this country under the form of a representative government. He was wounded at the Heights of Harlem, he was at Trenton, and was promoted for gallantry in the field, was made an aide-de-camp to Lord Sterling in 1777 and 1778, and was a distinguished soldier in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. He was trusted to raise a regiment of troops by General Washington and he served as a soldier of Virginia and Thomas Jefferson sent him to the South on a most important mission to investigate the condition of the army in the southern states. He was elected, in 1782, a member of the legislature of Virginia, and by the legislature he was elected as one of the executive counsel of the state. In 1783, when he was only twenty-four years of age, he was elected a member of Congress of the United States, and as Mr. Adams says, "He had already performed that in the service of the country which would have sufficed for the illustration of an ordinary life." He served for three years a member of the Confederate Congress, and during these three years of association with the fathers of the republic, he took a leading position and was the chairman of the committee which reported to Congress the provisions looking to the co-ordinating of the states of this union under a government with sufficient power to insure united action and life. So high had become James Monroe in the opinion of his country, that when he was but twenty-

six years of age, he was made one of the judges in Congress to settle the great controversy between Massachusetts and New York.

One of the great questions was whether the United States should carry their vastly increasing commerce upon the Mississippi river. Says John Quincy Adams, "In all the proceedings relating to the navigation of the Mississippi, from the reception of Mr. Gardoqui, till the acquisition of Louisiana and its annexation to the United States, the agency of Mr. Monroe was conspicuous above all others. He took the lead in the opposition to the recommendation of Mr. Jay. He signed, in conjunction, with another eminent citizen of the state of New York, Robert R. Livingston, the treaty which gave us Louisiana, and during his administration as President of the United States, the cession of the Floridas was consummated. His system of policy, relating to this great interest, was ultimately crowned with complete success. That which he opposed, might have severed or dismembered the Union."

When, by the articles of confederation, he was no longer eligible to serve in Congress, he was elected again to the legislature of Virginia, and immediately thereafter, to the convention which was to settle Virginia's position upon the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Monroe was a member of the convention in which were the greatest patriots and the most enlightened sons of Virginia, and in this convention he took a prominent place. So high were his abilities considered that although he was in the minority, both as to party and as to his views concerning the ratification of the Constitution, the legislature of Virginia, in 1798, elected him a senator of the United States, and he served with distinguished ability until President Washington nominated him minister to the Republic of France.

At home the differences in political views were more than accentuated by the conditions in France, and France was a seething volcano. Mr. Monroe's views did not agree with those of President Washington, and it would have been impossible for any one in the condition brought about in France by the treaty of Mr. Jay with England, to have satisfied either the French people or the administration at Washington. Notwithstanding the questions brought about by his retirement, he was immediately re-elected to the legislature of his state and thence to the governorship of Virginia, filling this office with the most eminent ability and success.

In 1803 he was appointed by Mr. Jefferson on the extraordinary mission to France, which had for its purpose the acquisition of the territory of Louisiana. This treaty, giving us the great territory of Louisiana, was signed by Robert Livingston and James Monroe. So great were Monroe's abilities considered by the President that he was immediately sent to England as minister of the United States, and to Madrid, where, with Mr. Pinckney, he was to settle the question of Florida. The great question of the embargo of our commerce had arisen, and says Mr. Adams, "From that day to the peace of Ghent, the biography of James Monroe is the history of that struggle, and in a great degree, the history of this nation—an eventful period in the annals of mankind; a deeply momentous crisis in the affairs of our Union"

A great authority observes that. "An examination of his services in Spain shows exceptional qualifications as a diplomatist; prudence, self-restraint, courtesy, dignity, tact, energy, familiarity with treaties and international law, ability in argument, devotion to his country's honor and interests, marked in a conspicuous manner his public life

in this most difficult of all courts. Judge Wharton, more familiar than any other person with our diplomatic history, says in reference to his negotiations with England, 'that in ability, candor and fairness, Mr. Monroe's papers stand in the front rank of diplomatic documents.' "

Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Monroe, by reason of a change of government, were not successful on that mission, and Mr. Monroe returned to private life. He was again elected governor of Virginia, filling the place with conspicuous ability, and so great was the confidence in his ability, experience and statesmanship, that President Madison, in 1811, appointed him secretary of state. He held this great office during the remainder of the two terms of Mr. Madison's administration, a great part of which time John Quincy Adams was the minister of the United States.

During the term of Mr. Madison occurred the war with Great Britain. Says a great authority, "Mr. Monroe was the war. He found a condition of absolute despair with want of ability in the War Department, with divided counsel, with a triumphant enemy, and a depleted treasury. Mr. Monroe again, trusted by the administration, in addition to his arduous duties as secretary of state, took upon his shoulders the administration of the war, and immediately infused into this great conflict his whole life and energy. Mr. Adams says, "It may suffice to say that, until the war broke out, and during its continuance, the duties of the offices held by Mr. Monroe, at the head, successively, of the Departments of State and War, were performed with untiring assiduity, with universally acknowledged ability, and, with a zeal of patriotism which counted health, fortune, and life itself, for nothing, in the ardour of self-devotion to the cause of his country. It is a tribute of justice to his memory to say, that he was invariably the adviser of ener-

getic councils; nor is the conjecture hazardous, that, had his appointment to the Department of War, preceded, by six months, its actual date, the heaviest disaster of the war, heaviest because its remembrance must be coupled with the blush of shame, would have been spared as a blotted page in the annals of our Union.

"England was exultant, its hands were practically free, its soldiers were plentiful, its money was abundant, and on the side of the United States were divided counsel, an impoverished treasury, a weak administration of the War Department, and it was due more largely to him, than to any other agency, that the war was brought to a triumphant conclusion. It was his duty, in addition to presiding over the State Department and the War Department, to provide the funds for the successful contest of the war. He cared not for popularity or the effect of his acts, so long as they were for the good of his country."

With this unprecedented series of great affairs as part of his life, the people of this country, whose government had been presided over by Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison, chose him as the one worthy to sit in the seat of these mighty spirits. He was re-elected by the unanimous vote, except one, of the whole country, and it was due to his work, that Mr. Adams could say, "The acquisition of the Floridas had completed that series of negotiations (perhaps it were no exaggeration to say, of Revolutions) which had commenced under the confederation with the Encargado de Negocios. Viewed as a whole, throughout its extent, can there be a doubt that it should be considered the most magnificent supplement to our national independence presented by our history, and will there arise an historian of this republican empire, who shall fail to perceive or hesitate to acknowledge that

throughout the long series of these transactions, which more than doubled the territories of the North American confederation, the leading mind of that great movement in the annals of the world, and thus far in the march of human improvements upon earth, was the mind of James Monroe?"

It is needless to occupy further precious time in the discussion of his eight years of the Presidency of the nation, during which time until these later days, he has been accredited with being the controlling spirit in the expression and enunciation of that great doctrine which is only second in importance to the other great acts of which he was part and parcel, the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas. Says Mr. Adams: "Have you a son of ardent feeling and ingenuous mind, docile to instruction, and panting for honorable distinction? Point him to the pallid cheek and agonizing form of James Monroe, at the opening blossom of life, weltering in his blood on the field of Trenton, for the cause of his country. Then turn his eye to the same form, seven years later, in health and vigor, still in the bloom of youth, but seated among the conscript fathers of the land to receive entwined with all its laurels the sheathed and triumphant sword of Washington. Guide his eye along to the same object, investigating by the midnight lamp, the laws of nature and nations, and unfolding them, at once with all the convictions of reason and all the persuasions of eloquence to demonstrate the rights of his countrymen to the contested navigation of the Mississippi, in the hall of Congress. Follow him with this trace in his hand, through a long series of years, by laborious travels and intricate negotiations, at imperial courts, and in the palaces of kings, winding his way amidst the ferocious and party colored revolutions of France, and the life-guard favorites

and Camarillas of Spain. Then look at the map of the united North America, as it was at the definitive peace of 1783. Compare it with the map of that same empire as it is now; limited by the Sabine and the Pacific ocean, and say, the change, more than of any other man, living or dead, was the work of James Monroe. See him pass successively from the hall of the confederation congress to the legislative assembly of his native commonwealth; to their convention which ratified the Constitution of the North American people; to the Senate of the Union; to the chair of diplomatic intercourse with ultra revolutionary France; back to the executive honors of his native state; again to embassies of transcendant magnitude, to France, to Spain, to Britain, restored once more to retirement and his country, elevated again to the highest trust of his state; transferred successively to the two preeminent departments of peace and war, in the national government, and at the most momentous crisis, burdened with the duties of both—and finally raised, first by the suffrages of a majority, and at last by the unanimous call of his countrymen to the chief magistracy of the Union. There behold him for a term of eight years, strengthening his country for defense by a system of combined fortifications, military and naval, sustaining her rights, her dignity and honor abroad; soothing her dissensions and conciliating her acerbities at home; controlling by a firm though peaceful policy the hostile spirit of the European alliance against republican southern America; extorting by the mild compulsion of reason, the shores of the Pacific from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain; and leading back the imperial autocrat of the North, to his lawful boundaries, from his hastily asserted dominion over the southern ocean. Thus strengthening and consolidating the federative edifice of his country's

union, till he was entitled to say, like Augustus Caesar, of his imperial city, that he had found her built of brick and left her constructed of marble."

It is submitted that one with these great services to his credit, cannot be minimized by mere statement, nor credit taken from him and given to his subordinate for the carrying out of a great policy of an administration of which he was the acknowledged head. These vast results were not achieved by a man of timidity, lethargy or indecision.

Another method of attack has been along the lines that the Monroe Doctrine did not accord with the views which had been heretofore held by President Monroe. Let us see what views he had held as to this question previous to its enunciation.

A distinguished writer makes the statement, "The Monroe Doctrine, it may safely be conjectured, derives much claim to popular veneration from its supposed parentage by Monroe. Even while he continued to hold the reins of state, men felt that the halcyon days of the Republic had arrived. History has proved their instinct true, and after seventy years the center of the whole is the mild and venerable patriarch of whom little but good is known, and who may the more easily be reputed a hero. If, on the other hand, the Monroe Doctrine were proved to be the offspring of Adams, much of the glamour encircling it might fade away, and its interpretation might pass more completely from the sphere of sentiment into that of reason."

A mere cursory inspection of the life and thought and writings of James Monroe will disabuse the mind of any fair person of the idea that Mr. Monroe had not held the views resulting naturally in the Monroe Doctrine. The independence of the South American Republic was continually near and clear to his heart. It is almost a waste

of time to give space to the proof of this proposition. He was full of the idea of the complete independence of these republics, free from the interference of Europe. The contrary to the proposition has been so earnestly stated that it is necessary, in a popular statement such as this, to show that the Monroe Doctrine was a necessary conclusion in the mind of President Monroe. Even President Gilman, his biographer, grudgingly concedes. "The one idea which he represents consistently from the beginning to the end of his career is this, that America is for Americans. He resists the British sovereignty in his early youth; he insists on the importance of free navigation of the Mississippi; he negotiates the purchase of Louisiana and Florida; he gives a vigorous impulse to the prosecution of the second war with Great Britain, when neutral rights were endangered; finally he announces the 'Monroe Doctrine.'"

Mr. Adams on January 2, 1819, says in his diary, that "the President proposed in cabinet meeting to inform Castlereagh that we intended to recognize Buenos Ayres before long. The cabinet was surprised and a discussion followed."

In a letter to General Jackson, in 1818, he says, speaking of the colonies, " * * * We partake in no councils whose object is not their complete independence. Intimations have been given us that Spain is not unwilling, and is even preparing for war with the United States, in the hope of saving them. Her pertinacious refusal to cede the Floridas to us heretofore, though evidently her interest to do it gives some coloring to the suggestion. If we engage in a war it is of the greatest importance that our people be united, and, with that view, that Spain commence it; and above all, that the government be free from the charge of committing a breach of the Constitution."

In a letter to Mr. Adams, of date August 27, 1818, in directing a change in Mr. Adams' letter, he speaks as follows: " * * * The alterations which I propose are in the second and third paragraphs, to omit the latter part of the first, and simply to state, after saying that we considered the parties engaged in a civil war, to add, that the colonies had invariably enjoyed that advantage in the United States. I have thought it would be better to omit the expression of a sentiment that we would engage in no war for interest other than our own, lest in the captious spirit which sometimes shows itself, our motive might be represented as manifesting a disposition peculiarly unfriendly to the colonies."

It will be noticed that this man, guiding with a vigorous hand his administration amidst the perils of a new and untried governmental scheme, confronted with the jealousies of Europe, had no tremors as to his action, and notified his secretary of state that it would be better to omit the expression of a sentiment that, "we would engage in no war for interests other than our own." Does it not seem strange that this great President who had for nearly eight years controlled the foreign affairs of his government under the father of the Constitution should be above any criticism of want of robustness in the management of the great affairs under his hand? Throughout the whole of the pendency of the question between Spain and the colonies, and whilst confronted with the terror of the Holy Alliance espousing the cause of Spain to control the destiny of the colonies, his mind never wavered, nor did his stout soul quail when confronted with these questions. His heart was ever with the colonies and with the American policy consequent upon their freedom.

Writing to Thomas Jefferson, on November 23, 1818, he

says, “* * * Had we made a bolder, or more precipitate movement, it might have produced a corresponding one on their part, very different from that, which it is expected, they will adopt and pursue. At present, our weight is thrown in the scale of the colonies, in a way most likely to produce the desired effect with her allies in favor of the colonies, without hazard of loss to ourselves.”

And again, in a letter to Albert Gallatin, of May 26, 1820, he gives his reasons for his action in regard to this great question: “With respect to the colonies, the object has been to throw into their scale, in a moral sense, the weight of the United States, without so deep a commitment as to make us a party to the contest. All Europe must expect that the citizens of the United States wish success to the colonies, and all that they can claim, even Spain herself, is that we will maintain an impartial neutrality between the parties. By taking this ground openly and frankly, we acquit ourselves to our own consciences; we accommodate with the feelings of our constituents; we render to the colonies all the aid that we can render them, for I am satisfied that had we even joined them in the war, we should have done them more harm than good, as we might have drawn all Europe on them, not to speak of the injury we should have done to ourselves.”

The distinguished coterie of eastern scholars who are advocating the theory that Mr. Adams was the originator of the Monroe Doctrine, seem to have overlooked the message of December 3, 1822, where President Monroe with the intuition which only comes with experience and mature thought, foretold the events which would ultimately force the United States to defend herself against Europe, and informed his countrymen that the systems of Europe and America were so different that they must be prepared for

the inevitable conflict between the two hemispheres, and practically in his message gave to the world the precursor of the Monroe Doctrine three years before the direct enunciation of the doctrine to the people of the world.

In his message of December 3, 1822, occur these words, "Other objects will likewise claim your attention; because, from the station the United States hold, as a member of the great community of nations, they have rights to maintain, duties to perform, and dangers to encounter. * * *

"A great effort has been made in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people, and it must be very consoling to all benevolent minds to see the extraordinary moderation with which it has been conducted. That it may promote the happiness of both nations is the ardent wish of this whole people to the expression of which we confine ourselves; for whatever may be the feelings or sentiments which every individual under our government has a right to indulge and express, it is *nevertheless a sacred maxim, equally with the government and people, that the destiny of every independent nation, in what relates to such improvements, of right belongs and ought to be left exclusively to themselves.*

"Whether we reason from the late wars, or from those menacing symptoms which now appear in Europe, it is manifest, that if a convulsion should take place in any of those countries, who can foretell the extent to which it may be carried, or the desolation which it may spread? Exempt as we are from these causes, our internal tranquility is secure; and distant as we are from the troubled scenes, and faithful to first principles in regard to other powers, we might reasonably presume that we should not be molested by them. This, however, ought not to be calculated upon as certain. Unprovoked injuries are often in-

flicted, and even the peculiar felicity of our situation might, with some, be a cause for excitement and aggression. The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration, that no system of conduct, however correct in principles, can protect neutral powers from injury from any party."

It will be noticed that the principle that the destiny of every independent nation of right belongs, and of right ought to be left exclusively to itself; was announced by Mr. Monroe a year before the cabinet meetings in which Mr. Adams expressed the same doctrine. Mr. Adams, in the controversy over the answer to Mr. Canning, stated that the question should be reduced to a question of right or wrong, and that the colonies had a right to settle their own destiny in their own manner. This is announced as part of the argument used by him to bring Mr. Monroe to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Monroe's own statement of the same principle a year before, which is absolute, seems not to have been considered in the present discussion.

This proof of the direction of the thought of President Monroe could be continued indefinitely, but it seems that to any impartial mind, this is a sufficiency of proof to show that the mind of this alert and vigorous, yet cautious man, was alive to this great question which was confronting him, and that he needed no prodding on the part of his secretary to enable him to see those questions to which he, with the fathers and the makers of the Constitution, had been giving, for years their thought and attention.

In the language of the historian, Schouler, "Did a President, in the bosom confidence of Jefferson and Madison, who had conducted the portfolio of state for years before his latest promotion, need to take his ideas from any subordinate? Allowing, therefore, to Adams his full praise

as an adviser in this emergency, and giving to the choice of words for defining a well understood policy whatever merit it may deserve, we may remark that the calm, dull phraseology of this message, is sufficiently in the Presidential vein to deserve the epithet original in the most liberal sense usually applied to state papers. It was the courage of a great people personified in a firm chief magistrate that put the fire into those few momentous sentences, and made them glow like the writing at Belshazzar's feast.

"Monroe meant neither that the United States should monopolize the new world, nor that we should fight single-handed the battles of sister republics; a policy of consummate statesmanship could not in such hands have been perverted into one of consummate statecraft. The danger was near our door and he repelled it. Threat was opposed by threat, and a course of policy laid open whose direction the future would determine. It is not, then, the genius of creating which belongs to Monroe, but, as with most great administrators, the genius of apprehending, of taking the immediate responsibility; and rarely, if ever, has responsibility been assumed, under the constitutional system of these United States, by any executive so utterly apart from the sanction of the legislature. A Presidential dictum has passed into the fundamental law of American diplomacy. And this crowning effort of Monroe's career contrasted well with that to which it stood opposed; for the main motive was to shelter honorably these tender blossoms of liberty on kindred soil from the cold Siberian blast of despotism."

The distinguished advocates of Mr. Adams would have us believe that the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, both as to the colonization clause and the clause as to non-interference by the European governments was a conception

of Mr. Adams. His biographer says that the first hint of the policy known as the Monroe Doctrine was made by Mr. Adams as far back as July 23, 1823. The Monroe Doctrine did not originate in the era of 1823 either from the minds of Mr. Monroe or Mr. Adams. It was a doctrine, which from the beginning, had been in the thought of the people. Washington considered it as fundamental, and it is foreshadowed in his farewell address. Mr. Jefferson, the friend of Mr. Monroe, in a letter to Alexander Humboldt, of date December 6, 1813, speaking of South America and Mexico, says:

"But in whatever governments they end they will be *American* governments, no longer to be involved in the never-ceasing broils of Europe. The European nations constitute a separate division of the globe; their localities make them part of a distinct system; they have a set of interests of their own in which it is our business never to engage ourselves. It must have its separate system of interests, which must not be subordinated to those of Europe. The insulated state in which nature has placed the American continent, should so far avail it that no spark of war kindled in the other quarters of the globe should be wafted across the wide oceans which separate us from them. And it will be so. In fifty years more the United States alone will contain fifty millions of inhabitants, and fifty years are soon gone over. The peace of 1763 is within that period. I was then twenty years old, and of course remember well all the transactions of the war preceding it. And you will live to see the epoch now equally ahead of us; and the numbers which will then be spread over the other parts of the American hemisphere, catching long before that the principles of our portion of it, and concurring with us in the maintenance of the same system. You see how readily

we run into ages beyond the graves and even those of us to whom that grave is already opening its quiet bosom. I am anticipating events of which you will be the bearer to me in the Elysian fields fifty years hence."

In a letter to William Short, in the year 1820, he voices the same opinions and discusses: "* * * a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the *importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe.* The day is not far distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, *on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other.*"

Says Mr. Madison in his draft of Washington's farewell address, "* * * The diversities of this country may give to the whole a more entire independence than has, perhaps, fallen to the lot of any other nation."

Thus, the idea of the segregation of American affairs free from the control of Europe was one familiar to the statesmen of this country from the time of the Revolution down to the more modern period of 1812. From that time on the doctrine was prevalent among not only the statesmen, but among the people of this country that this country should have its political life separate and independent from that of Europe, and all that was needed was the occasion for the formulation of the doctrine. This the Holy Alliance furnished. In order to a proper elucidation of the subject, we must consider the Holy Alliance and its influence upon the action of the United States.

The Holy Alliance was originally an alliance between Austria, Russia, Prussia and England, dating from March 1, 1814. At Aix-la-Chapelle, on October, 1818, after the

allied armies had evacuated France, that country was admitted to the alliance. The alliance was practically for the purpose of stamping out the idea of revolution and liberty which was being indoctrinated throughout Europe at that time. It was an alliance of which the Emperor of Russia was practically the head, and its primary purpose was to hold fast to the bulwark of despotism against the new ideas which were sweeping over Europe. England, whilst a member, looked upon the proceedings with askance, and within a short time, practically withdrew from active co-operation with the other powers. When a revolution arose in the Piedmont, the alliance ruthlessly suppressed it. The French army, under its orders, replaced Ferdinand VII upon his throne. After the withdrawal of England at the Congress of Verona, the designs of the Holy Alliance are stated as follows:

"Article I. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of *representative* government is equally as *incompatible* with the monarchical principles as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people, with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to *put an end* to the system of *representative* governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

"Article II. As it cannot be doubted that the *liberty* of the *press* is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations, to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures to *suppress* it, not only in their own states, but, also, in the rest of Europe.

"Article III. Convinced that the principles of religion contribute most powerfully to keep nations in the state of

passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare it to be their intention to sustain, in their respective states, those measures which the clergy may adopt, with the aim of ameliorating their own interest, so intimately connected with the preservation of the authority of princes; and the contracting powers join in offering their thanks to the Pope, for what he has already done for them, and solicit his constant co-operation in their views of submitting them to the nations."

The American colonies of Spain had revolted from the rule of the mother country, and Spain had sent troops to the colonies in 1810, to suppress the revolution. From that time until 1824, the colonies, declaring their independence had adopted a representative form of government, and had resisted the mother country.

During the war between England and France, this country, by reason of its weakness, was buffeted between the two contending governments. France demanding a return for her generosity during the war with England, and England, by reason of its ability to command the seas, was destroying our commerce. The United States, being unable to defend herself, was subjected to great loss in her commerce and business. The Holy Alliance was interested in the action of this government as to our recognition of the independence of the Spanish American colonies. President Monroe was vigorously in favor of the acknowledgment of their independence, and on October 24, 1817, at a cabinet meeting, Mr. Adams says, "The President said he desired to consult on South American affairs. He should put the question whether we should not acknowledge the government of Buenos Ayres."

During this period the action of the Holy Alliance was a subject of vast concern to our government, and Mr. Mon-

roe was earnest in his advocacy of his proposition that Great Britain recognize the independence of the southern republics. The French armies, at the behest of the Holy Alliance, were supressing in blood the constitutional ideas of the Spanish people.

There was also with the government the question as to the ownership of the great Northwest of America. This, as far south as the fifth degree of north latitude, was claimed by the Emperor of Russia. The day was one of the most critical and momentous in the history of this country. If the Holy Alliance persisted in carrying out the objects of its creation, it meant the subjugation of the Spanish American territories and a destruction of free thought on the South American continent. It was giving grave consideration to the revolting Spanish colonies and in Mexico. It meant the placing of the monarchical form of government backed by the bayonets of the despotisms of Austria, Prussia, Russia and France in control of South America; that in the northwest, on the southern hemisphere and in the adjacent seas, republican ideas should be destroyed, and that this country would be surrounded on its every side by a monarchical form of government which ultimately meant a deadly conflict with allied Europe.

England had retired practically from the Alliance for her rulers were afraid of the political effect upon themselves of their joining with the despotic governments of Europe in any enterprise which meant England's participating in the destruction of constitutional governments. England, however, had held off from any actual participation with the United States in her earnest endeavors to bring about the complete independence of the South American republics. She had built up a great trade with these Republics and if the Holy Alliance, which had been universally suc-

cessful in its policing of European affairs, would turn its attention to the recovery of the South American republics, to Spain, it would mean the loss of this great trade to England.

The successful conclusion of the efforts of the Holy Alliance in South America, meant one of two things: the recovery of the colonies for Spain, in which event, the old exclusiveness of Spain as to trade would again be brought about, or it meant the subjection of South America for themselves, which would be equally distasteful to England. In this situation Canning, England's astute foreign minister, turned to the United States and began to assiduously cultivate the good will and kind offices of this country. Mr. Canning was interested not alone from the standpoint of preventing the re-subjugation of the South American colonies, either through the Holy Alliance or through the efforts of Spain, but he was also anxious to get a committal from the United States as to their policy in reference to their taking over of the control of any of the colonies. After his interview of the 10th of August, 1823, where he broached his desire for a concert of action between the two countries on the 22nd of August, he wrote to Mr. Rush. This letter, with the reply thereto, and the conferences of the Cabinet thereupon, is the crux of the argument of Mr. Ford that Mr. Adams actually conceived and forced the Monroe Doctrine, and is intended by him to illustrate the control of the diplomatic management of foreign affairs by Mr. Adams, and with it the want of ability and energy on the part of President Monroe at this great crisis of our affairs.

Mr. Canning's letter to Mr. Rush is as follows:

"Mr. Canning to Mr. Rush: (Private and confidential.) Foreign Office, August 20, 1823.—My dear sir: Before leaving town I am desirous of bringing before you in a more distinct, but

still in an unofficial and confidential shape the question which we shortly discussed the last time that I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other as to the Spanish American Colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves and beneficial for all the world that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?

For ourselves we have no disguise.

1. We conceive the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless.

2. We conceive the question of the recognition of them as independent states to be one of time and circumstances.

3. We are, however, by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of an arrangement between them and the mother country by amicable negotiation.

4. We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves.

5. We could not see any portion of them transferred to any other power with indifference.

If these opinions and feelings are, as I firmly believe them to be, common to your government with ours, why should we hesitate mutually to confide them to each other, and to declare them in the face of the world?

If there be any European power which cherishes other projects which looks to a forcible enterprize for reducing the colonies to subjugation on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself by cession or by conquest, such a declaration on the part of your government and ours would be at once the most effectual and the least offensive mode of intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects.

It would at the same time put an end to all the jealousies of Spain with respect to her remaining colonies, and to the agitation which prevails in those colonies, an agitation which it would be but humane to allay, being determined (as we are) not to profit by encouraging it.

Do you conceive that under the power which you have recently received you are authorized to enter into negotiation and to sign

any convention upon this subject? Do you conceive, if that be not within your competence, you could exchange with me ministerial notes upon it?

Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to join with you in such a work, and I am persuaded there has seldom in the history of the world occurred an opportunity when so small an effort of two friendly governments might produce so unequivocal a good and prevent such extensive calamities.

I shall be absent from London but three weeks at the utmost, but never so far distant but that I can receive and reply to any communication within three or four days.

I have the honor to be, my dear sir, with great respect and esteem

Your obedient and faithful servant,
GEORGE CANNING."

On November 17th, Mr. Adams submitted to the President the draft of his reply to Mr. Canning. This was prepared in the light of a number of consultations of the cabinet as to the nature of the reply, as to the communication to be submitted to the Russian ambassador, and also as to what action was to be taken by the government in all of the questions before it concerning South American matters. Mr. Adams's draft was returned to him by the President on November 20th, as is shown by the letter of the President to Mr. Adams.

My dear sir—I send you the sketch which you left with me, of a letter to Mr. Rush, with amendments, which are intended for your consideration and which, if you approve, I wish, when a copy is made, that we submit to a meeting of all the members of the administration.

If you see any objection to these amendments we will confer on the subject.

The other sketches I will return as soon as I may be able.
Nov. 20. '23 J. M.

Mr. Ford gives from the manuscripts, Mr. Adams's draft:

ADAMS'S DRAFT

N. 76 Richard Rush, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, U. S. London.

Department of State, Washington,

November 29, 1823.

Sir—Your despatches numbered 323, 325, 326, 330, 331, 332, 334 and 336 have been received, containing the reports of your conferences and copies of your confidential correspondence with Mr. Secretary Canning in relation to certain proposals made by him tending to a concert of principles, with reference to the affairs of South America between the United States and Great Britain and a combined and candid manifestation of them to the world.

The whole subject has received the deliberate consideration of the President, under a deep impression of its general importance, a full conviction of the high interests and sacred principles involved in it and an anxious solicitude for the cultivation of that harmony of opinions and unity of object between the British and American nations upon which so much of the peace, happiness and liberty of the world obviously depend.

I am directed to express to you the President's entire approbation of the course which you have pursued in referring to your government the proposals contained in Mr. Canning's private and confidential letter to you of August 20th. And I am now to signify to you the determination of the President concerning them. A determination which he wishes to be at once candid, explicit and conciliatory, and which being formed, by referring each of the proposals to the single and unvarying standard of right and wrong as understood *by us* and maintained *by us*, will present to the British government the whole system of opinions and of purposes of the American government with regard to South America.

The first of the *principles* of the British government, as set forth by Mr. Canning is:

1. We conceive the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless.

In this we concur.

The second is:

2. We conceive the question of the recognition of them as independent states to be one of time and circumstance.

We *did* so conceive it, until with a due regard to all the rights of Spain and with a due sense of our responsibility to the judgment of mankind and of posterity, we had come to the conclusion that the recovery of them by Spain *was hopeless*. Having arrived at that conclusion we considered that the people of those emancipated colonies were *of right*, independent of all other nations, and that it was our duty so to acknowledge them. We *did* so acknowledge them in March, 1822. From which time the recognition has no longer been a question *to us*. We are aware of considerations just and proper in themselves which might deter Great Britain from fixing upon the same *time*, for this recognition, with us, but we wish to press it earnestly upon her consideration whether after having settled the point that the recovery of the colonies by Spain *was hopeless*, and after maintaining at the cannon's mouth commercial relations with them incompatible with their colonial condition while subject to Spain, the *moral* obligation does not necessarily result of recognizing them as independent states.

3. We are however by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of an arrangement between them and the mother country by *amicable negotiation*.

Nor are we. Recognizing them as independent states we acknowledge them as possessing full power, to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. Among these an arrangement between them and Spain by amicable negotiation is one which, far from being disposed to impede, we would earnestly desire, and by every proper means in our power endeavor to promote provided it should be founded on the basis of independence. But recognizing them as independent states, we do and shall justly and (*provided their accommodation with Spain be founded on that basis*) necessarily claim in our relations with them political and commercial to be placed upon a footing of equal favor with the most favored nation.

4. We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves.

5. We could not see any portion of them transferred to any other power with indifference.

In both these positions we fully concur—and we add:

That we could not see with indifference any attempt (by one or more powers of Europe to dispose of the freedom or independence of those states without their consent or against their will).

To this principle in our view of this subject, all the rest are subordinate. Without this our concurrence with Great Britain upon all the rest would be useless.) It is upon this ground alone as we conceive that a firm and determined stand could now be jointly taken by Great Britain and the United States in behalf of the *independence of nations*, and never in the history of mankind was there a period when a stand so taken and maintained would exhibit to present and future ages a more glorious example of power animated by justice and devoted to the ends of beneficence.

(With the addition of this principle, if assented to by the British government, you are authorized to join in any act formal or informal which shall manifest the concurrence of the two governments on this momentous occasion. But you will explicitly state that without this basis of right and moral obligation we can see no foundation upon which the concurrent action of the two governments can be harmonized.)

(The ground of resistance which we would oppose to any *interference* of the European Allies, between Spain and South America, is not founded on any partial interest of our own or of others. If the colonies belonged to Spain we should object to any transfer of them to other nations, which would materially affect our interests or rights, but with that exception we should consider Spain as possessing the common power of disposing of any part of the American continents by Spain with her European Allies, the truth is that they do not belong to Spain, and can no more be disposed of by her than by the United States.

With regard to the Islands of Cuba and Porto-Pico, to the inhabitants of which the free constitution of Spain, as accepted and sworn to by the King has been extended, we consider them as possessing the right of determining for themselves their course of conduct, under the subversion of that Constitution, by foreign military power. Our own interest and wish would be that they should continue in their political connection with Spain under

the administration of a free Constitution, and in the enjoyment of their Liberties as now possessed; we could not see them transferred to any other Power, or subjected to the ancient and exploded dominion of Spain, with indifference. We aim not at the possession of them ourselves.)

I am with great Respect, Sir, your very humble and obedt Servt."

(What is enclosed in brackets of both Adams's and Monroe's papers was omitted in the final form of this despatch.)

MONROE'S AMENDMENTS

amendment proposed to first line, 3d pa :

("provided their accommodation with Spain ~~was~~ be founded on that basis.")

substitute the following after attempt in the 6th line.

"Any attempt by one or more powers of Europe, to restore those new States, to the crown of Spain, or to deprive them, in any manner whatever, of the freedom and independence which they have acquired. (*Much less could we behold with indifference the transfer of those new govts., or of any portion of the Spanish possessions, to other powers, especially of the territories, bordering on, or nearest to the U. States.*")

omit in next paragh the passage marked & substitute the following:

"with a view to this object. It is indispensible that the British govt. take like ground, with that which is now held by the U. States,—that it recognize the independence of the new govt. That measure being taken, we may then harmonize, in all the (*necessary*) arrangements and acts, which may be necessary for its accomplishment." (the object) It is upon this ground alone, &c (to the end of the paragh.)

("We have no intention of acquiring any portion of the Spanish possessions for ourselves, nor shall we ever do it by force. Cuba is that portion, the admission of which into our union, would be the most eligible, but it is the wish of this govt. that it remain, at least for the present, attached to Spain. We have declared this sentiment publickly, & shall continue to act on it. It could not be

admitted into our union, unless it should first declare its independence, & that independence should be acknowledged by Spain, events which may not occur for a great length of time, and which the U. States will rather discourage than promote.)

On this basis, this govt. is willing to move in concert with G. Britain, for the purposes specified.

(with a view however to that object, it (*is submitted*) merits consideration, whether it will not (*be most advantageous to*) contribute most effectually, to its accomplishment, a perfect understanding being established between the two govts., that they act for the present, & until some eminent danger should occur, separately, each making such representation to the allied powers, or to either of them as shall be deemed most advisable. Since the receipt of your letters, a communication has been made by Baron T. the Russian minister here, to the following effect. (then state his letter respecting minister, &ca, & also the informal communication. State also the instructions given to Mr. Middleton, & the purport of those, which will be given to the minister at Paris.) On this subject, it will be proper for you to communicate freely with Mr. Canning, as to ascertain fully the sentiments of his govt. He will doubtless be explicit, as to the danger of any movement of the allied powers, or of any, or either of them, for the subjugation, or transfer of any portion of the territory in question, from Spain, to any other power. If there be no such danger, there will be no motive for such concert, and it is only on satisfactory proof of that danger, that you are authorized to provide for it.)

Mr. Adams's substitution, after discussion by the Cabinet, for the last clause of Mr. Monroe's amendment, is as follows:

ADAMS'S SUBSTITUTE

We believe however that for the most effectual (*object*) accomplishment of the object common to both Governments, a perfect understanding with regard to it being established between them, it will be most advisable that they should act separately each making such Representation to the Continental European Allies or either of them, as circumstances may render proper, and mu-

tually communicating to each other the purport of such Representation, and all information respecting the measures and purposes of the Allies, the knowledge of which may enlighten the councils of Great-Britain and of the United States, in this course of policy. Should an emergency occur in which a *joint* manifestation of opinion by the two Governments, may tend to influence the Councils of the European Allies, either in the aspect of persuasion or of admonition, you will make it known to us without delay, and we shall according to the principles of our Government and in the forms prescribed by our Constitution, cheerfully join in any act, by which we may contribute to support the cause of human freedom and the Independence of the South American Nations.

In order that the part written by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams may be seen, I insert the letter finally agreed upon by the President and the Cabinet.

"Sir,—Your despatches numbered 323-325-326-330-331-332-334 and 336, have been received; containing the reports of your conferences, and copies of your confidential correspondence, with Mr. Secretary Canning, in relation to certain proposals made by him, tending to a concert of principles, with reference to the affairs of South America, between the United States and Great Britain, and a combined manifestation of them to the world

"The whole subject has received the deliberate consideration of the President, under a deep impression of its general importance, a full conviction of the high interests and sacred principles involved in it, and an anxious solicitude for the cultivation of that harmony of opinions and unity of object, between the British and American Nations, upon which so much of the peace and happiness and liberty of the world obviously depend.

"I am directed to express to you the President's entire approbation of the course which you have pursued in referring to your Government the proposals contained in Mr. Canning's private and confidential letter to you, of 20 August; and I am now to signify the determination of the President concerning them:—a determination which he wishes to be at once candid, explicit and conciliatory; and which, being formed by referring each of the pro-

posals to the single and unvarying standard of right and wrong, as understood and maintained by us, will present to the British Government the whole system of opinions and of purposes of the American Government with regard to South America.

The first of the *principles* of the British Government, as set forth by Mr. Canning, is

1. We conceive the recovery of the Colonies by Spain to be hopeless.

In this we concur.

The second is

2. We conceive the question of the recognition of them, as independent States, to be one of time and circumstances.

We *did* so conceive it, until with a due regard to all the rights of Spain, and with a due sense of our responsibility to the judgment of mankind, and of posterity, we had come to the conclusion that the recovery of them by Spain *was hopeless*. Having arrived at that conclusion, we considered that the people of these emancipated Colonies were of *right* independent of all other nations, and that it was our duty so to acknowledge them. We *did* so acknowledge them, in March, 1822; from which time the recognition has no longer been a question *to us*. We are aware of considerations, just and proper in themselves, which might deter Great Britain from fixing upon the same time for this recognition, with us; but we wish to press it earnestly upon her consideration, whether after having settled the point that the recovery of the Colonies by Spain *was hopeless*; and after maintaining, at the Cannon's mouth, commercial relations with them, incompatible with their Colonial condition, while subject to Spain, the *moral* obligation does not necessarily result of recognizing them as independent States.

We are however by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of an arrangement between them and the mother country by *amicable negotiation*.

Nor are we—Recognizing them as independent States, we acknowledge them as possessing full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. Among these, an arrangement between them and Spain, by amicable negotiation is one which, far from being disposed to impede, we would

earnestly desire, and, by every proper means in our power, endeavor to promote, provided it should be founded on the basis of independence. But recognizing them as independent States, we do, and shall justly and necessarily, claim in our relations, political and commercial, to be placed upon a footing of equal favour with the most favoured nation.

4. We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves.

5. We would not see any portion of them transferred to any other Power with indifference.

In both these positions we concur—And we add

That we could not see with indifference, any attempt by one or more powers of Europe to restore those new States to the crown of Spain, or to deprive them, in any manner whatever, of the freedom and independence which they have acquired.

With a view to this object, it is indispensable that the British Government take like ground with that which is now held by the United States, and that it recognize the independence of the new Governments. That measure being taken, we may then harmonize in all the arrangements and acts which may be necessary for its accomplishment. It is upon this ground alone, as we conceive, that a firm and determined stand could not be jointly taken by Great Britain and the United States, in behalf of the *Independence of Nations*; and never, in the history of mankind, was there a period when a stand so taken and maintained, would exhibit to present and future ages, a more glorious example of power, animated by justice and devoted to the ends of beneficence. On this basis this Government is willing to move in concert with Great Britain for the purposes specified.

"We believe, however, that for the most effectual accomplishment of the object, common to both Governments, a perfect understanding with regard to it being established between them, it will be most advisable that they should act separately, each making such representations to the Continental European Allies, or either of them, as circumstances may render proper, and mutually communicating to each other, the purport of such representations, and all information respecting the measures and purposes of the Allies, the knowledge of which may enlighten the Councils of Great Britain and of the United States, in the course of policy,

and towards this honourable end, which will be common to both. Should an emergency occur, in which a joint manifestation of opinion; by the two Governments, may tend to influence the Councils of the European Allies, either in the aspect of persuasion or of admonition, you will make it known to us without delay, and we shall according to the principles of our Government, and in the forms prescribed by our Constitution, cheerfully join in any Act by which we may contribute to support the cause of human freedom, and the Independence of the South American Nations."

In Mr. Adam's draft, so far from there being any discovery of a new doctrine or the enunciation of the same, it will be noticed that it was a reply to the five principles set out by Mr. Canning. These principles were accepted by Mr. Monroe and by every member of the Cabinet. This is conceded, Mr. Adams but amplified the statement of Mr. Canning in his discussion of these principles.

It will be noticed from the final reply that the amendments of the President form a most important part of this letter, written at the crisis of affairs. The President insisted upon the modification of Mr. Adams's letter, setting out the absolute determination of this government as to the permanent freedom of the South American republics and insisted that the British government recognize the independence of the new republics and advises that whilst a perfect understanding should be between the British and American governments, that separate action should be taken. Mr. Adams's substitute for the closing of the letter was adopted.

A mere reading of the President's last amendment will show that Mr. Adam's substitute was but the writing out in full of the directions of the President. The statement quoted by Mr. Ford to the effect that the President proposed a modified amendment which seemed to admit, "That

we should not object to an agreement by which special favors or even a restoration of authority might be conceded to Spain," we do not understand. There is no amendment, proposed by Mr. Monroe, which even looks in that direction. His first amendment proposed is, "Provided that their accommodation with Spain be founded on that basis," does not upon a fair reading, imply the desire of Mr. Monroe, that these countries should be restored to the authority of Spain. This conclusion would be in absolute contradiction to Mr. Monroe's amendment as adopted in the letter, and is confuted by every public and private act of the President's life.

In his message of 1822, Mr. Monroe says, "This contest has now reached such a stage and been attended with such decisive success on the part of the provinces that it merits the most profound consideration whether the right to the rank of independent nations, with all the advantages incident to it in their intercourse with the United States is not complete." And also the following: "When the result of such a contest is manifestly settled, the new governments have a claim to recognition by other powers which ought not to be resisted."

His thought in this direction is evidenced by his private writings and by the further and conclusive argument that his administration had already recognized the South American governments, and the very amendment incorporated by Mr. Monroe in the communication to Mr. Rush insisted upon the recognition by Great Britain of the South American republic.

We submit that from the papers themselves, this draft, heralded as showing conclusively that Mr. Adams wrote the words and conceived the idea of the Monroe Doctrine, does nothing of the kind, but only shows that Mr. Adams

amplified Mr. Canning's statement, the acceptance of which was advised by Mr. Jefferson in his letter to Mr. Monroe and joined that to the more important provisions which were those proposed by the President, and that a close inspection of the two papers will show that Mr. Adams's substitute was but a writing out in diplomatic form of the thought of the President as set out in his draft. Throughout all of these, however, is evinced the earnest, painstaking care that was exercised by the President in the control of his diplomatic affairs which would enable this government to steer between the shoals of European aggressiveness and the rocks which would threaten when this country would be compelled to contest with Europe for the independence of the American continent.

A large part of the argument of Mr. Ford is based upon the communication to Baron Tuyl, the Russian minister. The Russian emperor had written two letters, setting out his views as to the South American colonies, and his conclusions not to allow representation by the Russian government to those colonies. In his last letter he gave his views as to the different systems of government. This is a subject of very minute discussion by Mr. Ford, and his object is to show that by the papers among Mr. Adams's manuscripts, one of them a statement prepared by him in reference to these negotiations which was to be submitted to the President, that Mr. Adams was the real moving influence in the enunciation of this principle.

This paper, and the proceedings thereon shows that after many conferences Mr. Adams prepared a communication which was discussed carefully and frequently by the cabinet and the President, and by the President and Mr. Adams alone. His statement was not agreed to and the communication was made to the Russian minister along the lines

preferred by the President. The President was directly in charge of the matter. He had vigorous and earnest views as to the subject matter of the controversy and his effort was to maintain the rights of the United States and of the colonies, and at the same time prevent such a criticism of the emperor as would lead to perhaps a rupture between the governments.

His letter to Mr. Adams shows his interest in this phase of the matter, which is as follows :

"Dear Sir,—I am inclined to think that the second paragraph had better be omitted, & that such part of the 3d be also omitted, as will make that paragraph stand, as the second distinct proposition, in our system. The principle of the paper, will not be affected by this modification, & it will be less likely to produce excitement anywhere.

"Two other passages, the first in the first page, & in the second, in 3d are also marked for omission.

"You had better see the Baron immediately.

Novr. 27. 1823."

J. M.

In his position he was supported by his cabinet, among whose members were John C. Calhoun and William Wirt. These various cabinet meetings all occurred after the arrival of Mr. Adams and the President from November 7th, until the meeting of Congress in December. As a matter of fact, the three questions as to the message, the answer to Baron Tuyl, and to Minister Rush for Mr. Canning, went along generally together, and the manuscripts discovered by Mr. Ford only show that there was the most painstaking care on the part of the President, and that his views prevailed instead of those of Mr. Adams.

During the summer and fall of 1823, Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams were absent from Washington. During his vacation the President was wrestling with the question of the

Spanish colonies. It was the one great question which was confronting his administration.

Some of those who attribute the authorship of the doctrine to Mr. Adams, are full of the statement that Mr. Monroe was timid, and was unlikely to take a strong position in the face of allied Europe. Mr. Ford says, "Monroe has long been charged as unlikely to take so extreme a stand in the face of allied Europe, for he was by nature a timid man and was at this time in poor health." This criticism we submit, is entirely without foundation. It is idle to attribute timidity to a man who wrought the great work which James Monroe laid to his hands. It is more than unkind to subject one to a criticism of timidity who could write to the governors of the southern states in the war of 1812, "hasten your militia. Do not wait for this government to arm them. Put all the arms you can find into their hands. Let every man bring his rifle with him. We shall see you paid."

In the early summer of 1823, six months before the conferences on the enunciation of the doctrine, which took place in Washington before the cabinet, President Monroe wrote Mr. Jefferson:

"Washington, June 2, 1823.

"Dear Sir,—I regretted very much that my duties here, with the necessity I was under to pass through Loudon and remain there some days, detain'd me so long, as to deprive me of the pleasure of seeing you, on my late visit to Albemarle. Being informed by Mrs. Randolph that you intended to return in a fortnight, I should have prolong'd my stay there for that term, but was compelled to return, to receive the instructions, which had been prepared, for our ministers, who were just about to sail for Spain & So. America, & by other duties. The moment is peculiarly critical, as respects the present state of the world, & our relations with the acting parties in it, in Europe, & in this hemisphere, & it would have been very gratifying to me, to have had an op-

portunity of free communication with you, on all the interesting subjects connected with it. The French armies have enter'd Spain, and thus the Bourbon family have put at issue, by an offensive movement, its own fortune, perhaps its existence, for should the attack fail, they will have no claim, on the justice, if on the liberality, of any portion of those, even in France, at whose vital interests the blow was aim'd. What the precise organization, of the revolutionary force in Spain, is, or whether any is formed in France, are facts with which we have little knowledge. We cannot believe that the revolutionary spirit has become extinct in the latter country, after the astonishing feats perform'd in favor of liberty, by Frenchmen in latter days, nor can we suppose, that the governing power in Spain would have risk'd so much, or could have gone so far, had it not relied on the support of the nation. The British Govt. is, I fear, playing, rather into the hands of France & of the holy Alliance, so far at least, as to promote the establishment of a house of peers, in Spain, after its own model, than of affording to Spain the aid, which is so necessary to her independence, and to all just principles, at the present time. The motive is obvious. The court is, I have no doubt, in principle, with the holy Alliance, and is therefore averse, to aid Spain, in any manner, whereby to aid the cause of human rights. How far it may be driven from its policy, by the sentiment of the nation, is uncertain. We saw that in the struggle of France, G. Britain was the most decisive & active party against that cause. I think that a change has since been wrought, by many causes, but can form no estimate of the extent to which that change has gone. Russia looks, as is presumed, with peculiar anxiety to Constantinople, & so firmly is despotism establish'd there, that the Emperor, takes less interest, than the powers nearer at hand in what passes in the west & south of Europe. Should the French armies be repulsed, and a party in France declare in favor of young Bonaparte, it is probable that Austria would at least be paralyzed, if she did not take part with him. That any thing of a bolder stamp woud. be now practicable, there is much cause to doubt. Such is the state of Europe, & our relation to it is pretty much the same, as it was, in the commencement of the French revolution. Can we, in any form, take a bolder attitude in regard to it, in favor of liberty, than we then did? Can we afford greater aid

to that cause, by assuming any such attitude, than we now do, by the form of our example? These are subjects on which I should be glad to have your sentiments.

"In regard to So. America our relations are very friendly, tho' the destiny of many of its parts, uncertain. The presumption is that the whole country will settle down under a republican system; but so great is the ignorance of the people & so little is the dependence to be plac'd on their popular leaders, that we cannot pronounce with certainty on the result. Our Ministers are about to sail to Columbia, Buenos Ayres & Chili; and now that the despotism, lately established in Mexico, has been overthrown, a new appointment will soon be made to that section. When the late nominations were made, Mexico alone had sent a Minister here. To have nominated to the others, & not to her, would have announced to the holy Alliance, a reason which would have been felt by it, since in truth, it would be difficult to assign one not equally applicable to most, if not to all, its members. General Jackson declining, another appointment was declin'd, for a reason which will readily occur to you. That reason no longer exists.

"I called at the University and was much gratified to find that the Rotunda had been commenced, and was in train of rapid execution. That the institution may be put in motion, as soon as possible, is an object of general solicitude. I was happy to hear that your health had improved. With the best wishes for its long continuance, I am, etc.

JAMES MONROE."

The letter rings like sharp steel and shows his grasp of the situation and his determination to preserve the liberties of South America. Can any position be bolder? Is there any evidence in this letter of weakening in his long understood position of freedom and independence for the Americas. A reading of the letter will show that this subject, the premonition of the doctrine in his message, was the one nearest his heart.

When he received the despatches from Minister Rush he took them with him on his vacation for study and reflection. On October 17th, two weeks before the return to Wash-

ington, and before there was any opportunity to discuss the question with his cabinet, he wrote again to Mr. Jefferson, stating the designs of the Holy Alliance against the independence of South America, and practically formulating the Monroe Doctrine.

"Oakhill, October 17th, 1823.

"Dear Sir,—I transmit to you two despatches, which were receiv'd from Mr. Rush, while I was lately in Washington, which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from Mr. Canning, suggesting designs of the holy alliance, against the Independence of So. America, & proposing a co-operation, between G. Britain & the U. States, in support of it, against the members of that alliance. The project aims in the first instance, at a mere expression of opinion, somewhat in the abstract, but which it is expected by Mr. Canning, will have a great political effect, by defeating the combination. By Mr. Rush's answers, which are also enclosed, you will see the light in which he views the subject, & the extent to which he may have gone. Many important considerations are involved in this proposition. 1st. Shall we entangle ourselves, at all, in European politicks, & wars, on the side of any power, against others, presuming that a concert by agreement, of the kind proposed, may lead to that result? 2d. If a case can exist, in which a sound maxim may, & ought to be departed from, is not the present instance, precisely that case? 3d. Has not the epoch arriv'd when G. Britain must take her stand, either on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the U. States, & in consequence, either in favor of Despotism or of liberty & may it not be presum'd, that aware of that necessity, her government, has seig'd on the present occurrence, as that which it deems, the most suitable, they announce & mark the commencement of that career.

"My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposal of the British govt., to make it known, that we would view an interference on the part of the European powers, and especially an attack on the Colonies, by them, as an attack on ourselves, presuming that if they succeeded with them, they would extend it to us. I am sensible however of the extent, & difficulty of the question, & shall be happy to have yours, & Mr. Madison's opin-

ions on it. I do not wish to trouble either of you with small objects, but the present one is vital, involving the high interests, for which we have so long & so faithfully, & harmoniously contended together. Be so kind as to enclose to him the despatches, with an intimation of the motive. With great respect &c,
Recd Oct. 23." JAMES MONROE.

The three propositions are to be noted. Here he asserts his own ideas as to the vigorous action on the part of this government and asks the opinion of his great advisors upon three important questions and brings the question clean and clear to the proposition of liberty and freedom on the side of America, or despotism on the side of monarchical Europe.

And listen to his vigorous announcement of the Monroe Doctrine six months before the meeting of Congress, as finally set out in his message to Congress. "My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposition of the British government and to make it known that we would view an interference on the part of the European powers and especially an attack on the colonies by them, as an attack on ourselves. Presuming that if they succeeded with them they would extend it to us."

This showed his own views before any consultation with his cabinet and especially with Mr. Adams, and was written to the two men to whom he was nearest and whose advice during a long life time he had considered of the highest value. On October 24th, Thomas Jefferson replied to this letter, and says Schouler, "It is one of the grandest letters he ever wrote, and he so considered it. We are not to ignore that letter nor pass it carelessly by. In its flaming sentences we see illumined like a beacon light the whole long pathway of the doctrine in its noblest development, which Monroe presently uttered and meant to apply, as a doctrine which should add to the nonintervention in

European affairs, already imbedded in our policy, the prohibition of all European intervention in affairs cis-Atlantic, so that this whole New World might be held sacred henceforth to systems among congenial republics and dedicated under our lead to liberty and the rights of man. Jefferson advised cooperation with Great Britain in the present crisis, confident that a joint prohibition, such as Canning seemed to invite, would, instead of bringing a European invasion of America, effectually prevent it. Madison, though wary and distrustful of Canning's overtures, advised a similar course.

"In this joint consultation of Virginians, then, originated historically the Monroe Doctrine, so far as that fundamental of our policy was not rather the gradual and legitimate outgrowth of sentiments repeatedly expressed earlier by several American statesmen, to be on this prime occasion positively proclaimed for enforcement."

Mr. Jefferson's letter is as follows:

"Monticello, October 24, 1823.

"Dear Sir: The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be, to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach

her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers, and draw over to our side its most powerful member surely we should do it. But I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion, that it will prevent instead of provoking war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers, of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless Alliance, calling itself Holy.

"But we have first to ask ourselves a question. Do we wish to acquire to our confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess, that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and its independence, which is our second interest (and especially its independence of England); can

be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association, at the expense of war and her enmity. "I could honestly, therefore, join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions, that we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them and the Mother country; but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially, their transfer to any power by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way. I should think it, therefore, advisable, that the Executive should encourage the British government to a continuance in the dispositions expressed in these letters, by an assurance of his concurrence with them as far as his authority goes; and that as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an act of Congress, the case shall be laid before them for consideration at their first meeting, and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by himself."

"I have been so long weaned from political subjects, and have so long ceased to take any interest in them, that I am sensible I am not qualified to offer opinions on them worthy of any attention. But the question now proposed involves consequences so lasting, and effects so decisive of our future destinies, as to rekindle all the interest I have heretofore felt on such occasions, and to induce to the hazard of opinions, which will prove only my wish to contribute still my mite towards anything which may be useful to our country. And praying you to accept it at only what it is worth, I add the assurance of my constant and affectionate friendship and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON."

Mr. Madison's letter expresses similar views of the subject.

Montpellier, Oct. 30, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I have read from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with the correspondence between Mr. Canning and Mr. Rush, sent for his and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it.

"From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France against Spain

would be followed by attempts of the Holy Alliance to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to their former dependence.

"The professions we have made to these neighbors, our sympathy with their Liberties & Independence, the deep interests we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great resources by the great powers confederated against the Rights & Reforms of which we have given so conspicuous & persuasive an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy of G Britain tho' guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe; and with it the best reliance on success to our just & laudible views. There ought not to be any backwardness therefore, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed; keeping in view of course the spirit & forms of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war which must be the last step, if those short of war should be without avail.

"It cannot be doubted that Mr. Canning's proposal tho' made with the air of *consultation* as well as concert, was founded on predetermination to take the course marked out whatever might be the reception given here to his invitation. But this consideration ought not to divert us from what is just and proper in itself. Our co-operation is due to ourselves & to the world; and whilst it must ensure success in the event of an appeal to force, it doubles the chance of success without that appeal. It is not improbably that G B would like best to have the sole merit of being the Champion of her new friends notwithstanding the greater difficulty to be encountered, but for the dilemma in which she would be placed. She must in that case either leave us as neutral to extend our commerce & navigation at the expense of hers, or to make us Enemies by renewing her paper blockades, and other arbitrary proceedings on the Ocean. It may be hoped that such a dilemma will not be without a permanent tendency to check her proneness to unnecessary wars.

"Why the British Cabinet should have scrupled to arrest the calamity it now apprehends, by applying to the threats of France agst Spain the 'small effort' which it scruples not to employ on

behalf of Spanish America, is best known to itself. It is difficult to find any other explanation than that *interest* in the one case has more weight in her casultry than principle had in the other.

"Will it not be honorable to our country & possibly not altogether in vain to invite the British Govt to extend the avowed disapprobation of the project agst the Spanish Colonies, to the enterprize of France agst Spain herself; and even to join in some declaratory act in behalf of the Greeks? On the supposition that no form could be given to the act clearing it of a pledge to follow it up by war, we ought to compare the good to be done, with the little injury to be apprehended to the U. S. shielded as their interests would be by the power & the fleets of G. Britain united with their own. These are questions however which may require more information than I possess, and more reflection than I can now give them.

"What is the extent of Mr. Canning's disclaimer to 'the remaining possessions of Spain in America'? Does it exclude future views of acquiring Porto-Rico &c. as well as Cuba? It leaves G. B. free as I understand it, in relations to Spanish possessions in other Quarters of the Globe.

"I return the correspondence of Mr. R. & Mr. C. with assurances of the highest respect & sincerest regard. JAMES MADISON."

To attempt to prove that James Monroe did not comprehend the significance of his action when he announced the Monroe Doctrine, with the principle that America should be for Americans ringing in his ears, in a direct reply to his request for advice made by him to the greatest living American statesmen, appears to be a hard task. In view of this great interest on the part of Mr. Monroe, is it not somewhat unreasonable to say that, however vigorous and earnest Mr. Adams was, it was through his action that the President was induced to announce the doctrine, or that the theory was conceived and the principle carried to its fruition practically by Mr. Adams. The President's mind was made up as is clearly shown above, long before Mr. Adams returned to Washington.

On November 7th, the first cabinet meeting was had after the summer vacation. The question arose on the letters of Mr. Rush and Mr. Canning, and the answer to the Russian minister. The President so far from evincing any timidity, or showing any wavering of his determination to preserve the prestige of America, in the language of Mr. Adams, "was averse to any course which should have the position of taking any position subordinate to that of Great Britain, and suggested the idea of sending a special minister to *protest* against the interposition of the Holy Alliance." And again at the same meeting, "The President referring to instructions given before the Congress of Aix-la-Chappelle, declaring that we would, if invited, attend no meeting relative to South America of which less than its entire independence should be the object intimated that similar limitations might be assumed now."

The preparation of the message was by reports by heads of departments which were considered in full meetings of the cabinet. The long series of meetings between November 7th and the 2nd of December, show that the subject of the American colonies was gone over in every possible shape and detail by all of the members of the cabinet. This cabinet was composed of William H. Crawford, Southard, John C. Calhoun, William Wirt and Mr. Adams, and throughout the long days of these discussions one proposition absolutely clearly appears that James Monroe was emphatically the head of the administration and that whilst he was vigorous and determined to preserve the freedom of this hemisphere from the control of Europe, he was endeavoring if possible to preserve the peace of the world.

Mr. Adams says that, "he was alarmed beyond anything that he could have conceived with the fear that the Holy

Alliance was about to restore all of South America to Spain."

He surely had room for alarm because a great portion of his life had been spent either directly in the horrors of war or amongst the resulting effects of conflict. It was his administration, of which he was the responsible head, which had to embark in a conflict if there was one.

In no sense of the word, by this discussion, do we wish to say anything to lessen the great credit which in these days, should cling around the life of John Quincy Adams. He was a great patriot, a distinguished diplomat, honest, able, sincere and as determined for freedom as any one that lived in that day and time. No one who loves the memory of his country will attempt to take away from this great man a particle of credit which he should have for his determined stand on this great question. Our only criticism is that the effort should be made to give him all the credit of that which we believe the facts of history show should belong to James Monroe.

Mr. Ford and those interested in the discussion speak in these days of the extraordinary degree of dejection evinced by the President, as set out by Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams expressly says, "There must be something that affects him besides the European matter." There were many things that affected him. As a matter of fact, after a long life spent in the service of his country, at that time he was practically overwhelmed with bankruptcy and was then engaged in negotiations for the sale of his home in Virginia in order to relieve himself from obligations created through sacrifices made in the public service. But never does Mr. Adams in his diary insinuate that there was any wavering on the part of the President from a determined course in the direction of South America.

On the 21st, the President read the sketch which he had prepared for his message and instead of its showing any timidity or fear, as Schouler says, "His first draft of his message sounded an alarm of war like a thunder clap." Mr. Adams endeavored to persuade him to subdue the vigor of his statement because he feared that a statement so pointed might cause the war which they were trying to avert. Through the discussions of the cabinet, in which Mr. Adams bore a most vigorous part, the President modified the statement and within a few days it was read to the cabinet and agreed to by Mr. Adams, being drawn up in the spirit which he had urged on the former day. Mr. Adams expressly says, "In the discussion of the letter to be directed to Baron Tuyl, the paper itself was drawn to correspond exactly with the paragraph of the President's message which he had read to me yesterday and which was entirely conformable to the system of policy which I have earnestly recommended for this emergency."

Throughout the discussion before the cabinet there was much contention over the proposition as to how the statement of the position of the United States should be announced: whether in connection with Great Britain, as an independent statement, or a communication by the secretary of state to the foreign ministers. The contention is that it was through Mr. Adams that the announcement was made to the world by a message to Congress.

A fair statement of the position of Mr. Monroe is contained in his amendment to the letter to Mr. Rush, and in his letter to Mr. Jefferson after the message had been delivered. It is here noted that Mr. Adams, in all the discussions in and about this period and about these matters, possesses a great advantage because of his daily diary which is extant, and easily obtainable. It is practically the

only detailed statement dealing with the intimate discussions of the cabinet, excepting the letters of the parties thereto. Mr. Adams was a man who believed in himself to a greater extent than he did in any one else, and while no one doubts the honesty of his statements, they all must be taken with that question of self importance which lingers around every man's account of his own life and actions.

Mr. Monroe's letters and writings have now been collected and his memory is beginning to feel the advantage of this work, for heretofore there was but little, except his public messages, which was accessible to the scholar who was attempting to get a history of the events which touched the main springs of his life time in the discussions of the cabinet. Mr. Monroe's letter to Thomas Jefferson shows what he had done and the principles which had animated him in the enunciation of the doctrine.

"Washington, Decr. 4, 1823.

"Dear Sir,—I now forward to you a copy of the message, more legible than that which (was) sent by the last mail. I have concurr'd thoroughly with the sentiments expressed in your late letter, as I am persuaded, you will find, by the message, as to the part we ought to act, toward the allied powers, in regard to So. America. I consider the cause of that country, as essentially our own. That the crisis is fully as menacing, as has been supposed, is confirmed, by recent communications, from another quarter, with which I will make you acquainted in my next. The most unpleasant circumstance, in these communications is, that Mr. Canning's zeal, has much abated of late. Whether this proceeds, from the unwillingness of his govt. to recognize the new govts., or from offers made to it, by the allied powers, to seduce it, into their scale, we know not. We shall nevertheless be on our guard, against any contingency. Very respectfully and sincerely Yours,
Rec'd Dec. 7. JAMES MONROE.

You will observe that he says, "I have concurred thoroughly with the sentiments expressed in your late letter, as I am persuaded, you will find, by the message, as to the part we ought to act, toward the allied powers, in regard to South America. I consider the cause of that country as essentially our own."

In his second letter of December, 1823, after the letter of the 4th, he specifically discusses the details of the transaction in which our government had taken its own initiative, separate from Great Britain, thus giving our position greater strength with allied Europe.

Washington, Decr. 1823.

"Dear Sir,—Shortly after the receipt of yours of the 24th of October, & while the subject treated in it, was under consideration, the Russian minister, drew the attention of the govt. to the same subject, tho' in a very different sense from that which it had been done by Mr. Canning. Baron Tuyl, announced in an official letter and as was understood by order of the Emperor, that having heard that the republic of Columbia had appointed a minister to Russia, he wished it to be distinctly understood that he would not receive him, nor would he receive any minister from any of the new govts. de facto, of which the new world had been recently the theatre. On another occasion, he observ'd, that the Emperor had seen with great satisfaction, the declaration of this govt., when those new govts. were recognized, that it was the intention of the U States, to remain neutral. He gave this intimation for the purpose of expressing the wish of his master, that we would persevere in the same policy. He communicated soon afterwards, an extract of a letter from his govt., in which the conduct of the allied powers, in regard to Naples, Spain, & Portugal, was reviewed, and that policy explain'd, distinctly avowing their determination, to crush all revolutionary movements, & thereby to preserve order in the civilized world. The terms 'civilized world' were probably intended to be applied to Europe only, but admitted an application to this hemisphere also. These communications were receiv'd as proofs of candour, & a friendly disposition to the U States, but were nevertheless answer'd, in a manner equally

explicit, frank, & direct, to each point. In regard to neutrality it was observ'd, when that sentim't was declar'd, that the other powers of Europe had not taken side with Spain—that they were then neutral—if they should change their policy, the state of things, on which our neutrality was declar'd, being alterd, we would not be bound by that declaration, but might change our policy also. Informal notes, or rather a process verbal, of what passed in conference, to such effect, were exchanged between Mr. Adams & the Russian minister, with an understanding however that they should be held confidential.

“When the character of these communications, of that from Mr. Canning, & that from the Russian minister, is considered, & the time when made, it leaves little doubt that some project against the new govts., is contemplated. In what form is uncertain. It is hoped that the sentiments expressed in the message, will give a check to it. We certainly meet, in full extent, the proposition of Mr. Canning, & in the mode to give it greatest effect. If his govt. makes a similar decln., the project will, it may be presumed, be abandoned. By taking the step here, it is done in a manner more conciliatory with, & respectful to Russia, & the other powers, than if taken in England, and as it is thought with more credit to our govt. Had we moved in the first instance in England, separated as she is in part, from those powers, our union with her, being marked, might have produced irritation with them. We know that Russia dreads a connection between the U States & G. Britain, or harmony in policy. Moving on our own ground, the apprehension that unless she retreats, that effect may be produced, may be a motive with her for retreating. Had we mov'd in England, it is probable, that it would have been inferr'd that we acted under her influence, & at her instigation, & thus have lost credit as well with our southern neighbours, as with the allied powers.

“There is some danger that the British govt., when it sees the part we have taken, may endeavor to throw the whole burden on us, and profit, in case of such interposition of the allied powers; of her neutrality, at our expense. But I think that this would be impossible after what has passed on the subject; besides it does not follow, from what has been said, that we should be bound to engage in the war, in such event. Of this intimations

may be given, should it be necessary. A messenger will depart for Engld with despatches for Mr. Rush in a few days, who will go on to St. Petersburg with others to Mr. Middleton. And considering the crisis, it has occur'd, that a special mission, of the first consideration from the country, directed to Engld in the first instance, with power, to attend, any congress, that may be conven'd, on the affairs of So. Am; or Mexico, might have the happiest effect. You shall hear from me further on this subject.

Very sincerely your friend

Endorsed "recd Dec. 11.")

(no signature)

This letter shows, in the language of Schouler, that "the masterstroke at this junction, of warning off European aggressiveness in an opening message to Congress, rather than by a joint protest with England was Monroe's own idea."

It is conceded by fair people that Mr. Adams was insistent that one general principle should run through both the message to Congress, the answer to Baron Tuyl and that to Mr. Canning. The usual custom, as we have shown, was that each department should present its views along the lines of its specific work and it is but natural that Mr. Adams, dealing in three directions, should desire that each should be consistent with the other. It is also proper to concede, that by reason of his being the head of the state department, he would have a more detailed grasp of the various threads of the discussion.

Whilst this is all true, a careful reading of the diary of John Quincy Adams will show that throughout the whole discussion, Mr. Monroe was the head of his government. Even if we should grant, which is not necessary in this case, that Mr. Adams had written a phrase, or given form to an expression in the message, still would it be fair that to him should be given the credit for the enunciation of the doctrine? The administration was Monroe's and he was

responsible for its policies and a fair reading of his letters and of the events leading up to it shows what was the supreme object of his mind. If the method of criticism adopted of giving to a subordinate the credit for the action of the administration, shall we not attribute to Hamilton and James Madison the authorship and the high credit of Washington's Farewell Address? Shall we not attribute to Seward and to Stanton the credit of the enunciation of Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation? It is admitted that these great documents were the result of a thought here, an expression there, made by this official, or penned by this chief of a department, but all coalescing in the enunciation by the head of the government of the principles contained therein and announced to the people. And to the one in control of the government, by the fair concession of history has been given the credit for the courage of enunciating the great principles and making it part and parcel of his administration.

As further proof of the method of painstaking care, the dominating personality of James Monroe, as shown in his instructions to John Quincy Adams, on another occasion, let us at random read another letter.

"Highland Near Milton, 27th August, 1818.

"Dear Sir,—The papers mentioned in your's of the 23rd & 24 of this month have been received. The answer to Mr. Aguirre alone pressing at this moment, I shall confine this to the few remarks I have to make on the draft sent me. My anxiety that you should receive the draft at New York, so as to deliver, or send it, to Mr. Aguirre while you are there, puts it out of my power to bestow as much attention on it as I could wish. The alterations which I propose are in the second and third paragraphs, to omit the latter part of the first, and simply to state, after saying that we considered the parties engaged in a civil war, to add, that the colonies had invariably enjoyed that ad-

vantage in the United States. I have thought it would be better to omit the expression of a sentiment that we would engage in no war for interests other than our own, lest in the captious spirit which sometimes shows itself, our motive might be represented as manifesting a disposition peculiarly unfriendly to the Colonies.

"In the 3rd I propose to leave out the latter part also from an apprehension that in conceding that the U. S. could not decide in favor of either party without taking side with the other, inconsistently with our neutrality, that more might be inferred than you intended to grant. I propose to suggest general consideration applicable to the Colonies, as well as to ourselves, in the sense in which every government ought to act, as reasons for caution and delay in deciding on the recognition of Buenos Ayres, admitting that Buenos Ayres has given strong proof of its ability to maintain its independence, and then notice the reason which you have given of internal division proceeding from the State of Montevideo, the Banda Oriental, and Paraguay, as presenting serious difficulties. The latter is the ground which you undoubtedly have principally in view, and in which I concur with you. To the other parts of the latter I propose no change. I enclose the draft to Mr. Brent, with the proposed amendments on a separate sheet. Should you see a serious objection to them I wish you not to adopt them, but to retard your answer for the present, farther to intimate to Mr. Aguirre that we cannot purchase his ships, and to communicate to him a copy of Mr. Rush's explanatory paper, which will be given him, the latter paragraph in it will be withheld. Should you adopt the amendments I would omit from Mr. Rush's paper the paragraph mentioned, taking some favorable opportunity to apprise Mr. Aguirre that you had done so, and the reason for it. It would be well to do this in your passage by New York if convenient."

It has been asserted so earnestly that the principles of the non-colonization clause were originated by Mr. Adams, that I think it fair to quote the exact language of Mr. Adams himself, as to this clause.

"Washington, December 6th. With Mr. Bancroft I had a free and long conversation on politics, and especially on the parts of

the message of the President of the United States relating to the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon. He appeared anxious to know my opinion on that subject which I freely gave him. I said that I approved entirely of Mr. Polk's repeated assertion of the principle first announced by President James Monroe in a message to Congress, that the message of Mr. Monroe had been inserted by him at my suggestion. I told him that was true; that I had been authorized by him to assert the principle in a letter of instruction to Mr. Rush, then Minister in England, and had written the paragraph in the very words inserted by Mr. Monroe in his message. It was Mr. Monroe's custom, and has been, I believe, that all of the Presidents of the United States, to prepare their annual messages, and to receive from each of the heads of Departments, and adopt them as written, or with such modifications as the writer of the message deemed advisable."

It is noticed that Mr. Adams does not assert that the sentiment expressed in that clause was his own but that he had been authorized by the President to assert the principles in a letter of instruction to Mr. Rush, then minister of England, and had written the paragraph in the very words inserted by Mr. Monroe in his message.

Mr. Calhoun was of the impression that the non-colonization clause was placed in the message without consultation with the cabinet. Mr. Calhoun also, in the same statement said that the remainder of the message originated entirely and absolutely with Mr. Canning. Both statements seem to show that Mr. Calhoun was in error. We all know that Mr. Canning did not originate the doctrine and the proof is equally clear that the non-colonization clause was considered by Mr. Monroe and many of our statesmen long before the cabinet's meeting.

I repeat that nothing herein said is intended to detract from John Quincy Adams, but it is for the single purpose of doing historical justice to one of the fathers of the republic who has been signally attacked and peculiarly neg-

lected among the writers of the day. This latter situation in a manner has resulted from the conditions of his day and time. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, John Adams and the fathers were engaged in the early days of the republic, in the formulation of new principles which were to adhere into a written and limited constitution. These people were building up a form of government which was entirely novel and necessary to be set out in written form with much amplification and detail. When Mr. Monroe took the helm of affairs in this country, the formulative and constitutional period, in a large manner, had ended, and his control of public affairs began in a day when executive ability was needed to carry out the written formulation of the principles by the fathers of the republic. The work that was done by him did not so much require the written and enduring enunciation of a principle. That day was largely passed, but rather there was needed the active work of a great executive, which lives only in the act and not in the written pages. Thus, there was relatively little written by him or in his day which could be used to typify his life and principles. Mr. Adams furnished the only detailed history of that time by his record from which scholars largely obtain their information. There have been, until lately, no collected writings of Mr. Monroe which would exemplify the splendor of his life, his maturity of service in every part of this government, his patriotism and self abnegation, his dominating character, the tremendous part he played in leading this republic out of financial distress, and record how he left it in a condition where all men can look backward to the days which we concede were the golden days of the republic.

It is only for justice to a great man for which we appeal. We submit the proof that James Monroe held no trumpet

through which any other man should blow his defiance to the world. His was the government, which by reason of his patience, his care, his commanding ability, in the great results achieved, approached that of Washington's more nearly than any other. And the indoctrinating of the principle that this great statesman, appointed to high office by Washington, the intimate friend of Jefferson, James Madison, John Marshall, experienced in every detail of the government, with a knowledge of politics and an experience in the world, surpassed by no man of his day, should be subordinated in an important act of his administration by one, who however great and distinguished, was for nearly fifteen years, his subordinate in governmental matters, is unfair to the memory of this great and patriotic President.

Would Massachusetts pluck a jewel from the diadem of old Virginia? Have we not been arm in arm on many bloody fields and striven together in many mighty crises? Old Virginia's bosom is seamed with wounds made for our country. Her sacrifices have been too great, her gifts to this country too stupendous for any one to take from her that which is more lovely than sacrifice, and more enduring than gifts, the memory of great deeds done by her sons. Let us keep that which is securely ours. Surely Massachusetts, with the wealth and glory of her great name, her splendid memories, and wonderful traditions, her patriots, her intellectual splendor, has enough without bereaving the old commonwealth of Virginia of that which belongs to her.

However, there is for us a greater thing than to strive among ourselves for the honor as to who enunciated the great principles of the Monroe Doctrine. It is for us to keep pure and strong the ideals of that great doctrine

which has sent liberty to the darkest places, which has destroyed despotism, which has brought the hope of an equal chance for social and political justice to the millions yet to be born, which has blessed the people of a great continent with the thought, whether speaking from Massachusetts or old Virginia, that the labors of their hands or the energies of their minds, shall fructify under equal laws without thought of wrong by king or prince or potentate. These should be the ideals for us to keep steady and clear, that these people to the South of us, just beginning to be touched with the gleams of progress, shall have liberty and not despotism, justice and not the whim of a ruler for an inheritance unto their children forever and forever. And if we are but true to the ideals of this great doctrine, there is sufficient in the work laid to our hands to amply satisfy old Virginia and Massachusetts.

A HOOSIER DOMESDAY

BY PROF. FREDERIC L. PAXSON, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A very early poet of these regions has some lines that start out:

"Blessed Indiana, in her soil
Men seek the sure rewards of toil."

He wrote these verses nearly a hundred years ago—and proceeded then to describe his contemporaries, in language that might have been used with equal appropriateness last week, as:

"Men who can legislate or plow,
Wage politics or milk a cow,
So plastic in their various parts
That in the circle of the arts
With equal tact the Hoosier loons
Hunt offices and hunt raccoons."

Some of them, if I am correctly informed, are hunting offices even yet, with a high percentage of chance that they will get some of the offices; while the diversity of talent which the poet saw in Indiana still exists in our actual contemporary fact.

Today Indiana is that non-existent thing known as an average. Statisticians tell us that the truth is variant and that the average is rarely seen. But Indiana approximates an average of America and closely resembles the composite that the various corners of our country might present could they be brought together and intermingled. It

is an average that makes a state with fewer of the very rich, with fewer of the very poor, with fewer of the foreign born, with a larger proportion of the home born than most of our other states; that makes a community both within itself, enlarging its own traditions and carrying on its own ideals; and because of the trend of its history it is singularly American in its point of view. Today Indiana with its centennial is giving to the Ohio Valley Historical Association one of the excuses for its existence. Its neighbor states will repeat that same excuse, in the next few years as they fall in behind Indiana celebrating their own centennials. The line goes down the river, including Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and finally Missouri in 1921. The sequence is worthy of being noted, for it is of interest to Americans in general as well as to the historians of Indiana, and it will produce for the future historians of these regions records that will be a Domesday, and that will in a measure warrant the title that I have chosen for my remarks this evening.

The real Domesday, of course, is a thing that we need to fix our minds on from time to time.

After the great Norman Conqueror had been in England for about twenty years after his barons had got themselves settled on the lands they had acquired, after the English law and the King's writ had begun to run smoothly once more, and after it had become tolerably certain that the will of the King was greater than the will of any of his subordinates, William set to work to record in his Domesday what he had in his fair land of England. He sent his officers out into the shires with instructions to gather together the people and swear them to tell the truth; and then to ask them how many freemen, how many serfs, how many knights their community could furnish; what cattle,

what horses, what swine, what fish-ponds, and so on down the line of their tangible property. They were to ask how things stood at the date of the Domesday, how they had been in the days of the conquest, and what they formerly had been in the days of King Edward the Confessor; and I suppose England was pretty seriously distressed during that summer, while the investigators were asking these questions and placing Englishmen under oath to tell the truth, because there was a strong feeling that those questions were to be the foundation of a new, more searching, and more rigorous taxation. But from the standard of government William was putting together the greatest governmental document that exists, a document typical of English government and ours, a document that begins not with governmental theory but with the absolute existent fact and that has lived long after the absolute fact. The questions that William sent out for the shires to answer—what now? what then? what formerly?—brought a mass of information into the great Domesday book that scholars ever since have been trying to understand.

If we are to make our Domesday worth much to the scholar in another thousand years, we, too, must ask questions: what now? what then? what formerly? what changes have taken place because of our conquest? what changes have taken place because of the new order of life that has come into existence here? We too must send our historical inquisitors out into Indiana to take an inventory today, and to take it back in the days of our grandfathers, and again still farther back in the days of our grandfathers' grandfathers, that we may cover this century in Indiana with a Domesday that will give us information good for our souls and that will contain facts for the guidance of historians in all time.

The answer to the question what now? would have to be that Indiana, with its low percentage of foreign born, with its low percentage of the very rich, with its low percentage of the very poor, and with its high percentage of farmers who know something of community life and of townsmen who are not too far from the country to know something of country life, is an average America, and perhaps the best example of an average that America presents. Indeed, so excellent an example is Indiana of the rest of us, that we all look to Indiana in order to get a glimpse of what we think, for what Indiana thinks is likely to be a fair sample of what America thinks.

Yesterday the President of the United States crossed this state to tell citizens not very far away what he thinks and doubtless before very long he will bring to you something of the same message. Tomorrow an ex-President of the United States is to tell you what he believes and it is probable that before November all the gentlemen living who have been President of the United States will deliver their message in the same way. Some are hopeful for the success of what they think; some are apprehensive; but whether hopeful or apprehensive, the big outstanding fact is that they realize that what Indiana thinks today the country too may think and that what convinces Indiana is too true to be beaten at the polls. It has been true for many years that Indiana has told the country what it thought. One has only to call to memory that canvass forty years ago when a national chairman was frantically telegraphing about the purchase of "mules" in Indiana, or the more recent canvass when a national secretary "saved" Indiana by means that a vice-President-elect could not discuss before reporters. Those were the days when the vote of the second Tuesday in October decided whether the

purse strings should be loosed and the money poured out in Indiana. Those good old days are gone today. Indiana now reserves her formal vote until the rest of the country tells its opinion too. But what Indiana is going to think is still a question that is of a good deal of interest in many corners of the country, and if gentlemen could determine what Indiana thinks now many of them would sleep more tranquilly tonight, and some of them would fail to visit Indiana in the course of the next few weeks.

Out of its past Indiana has emerged a barometer of American temper, today. What sequences can we pursue back from our grandfathers' to their grandfathers' days, to the first generation of conquerors? What was there formerly in Indiana? The conquerors came drifting in shortly after 1800, following, as conquerors invariably do, the line of least resistance, traveling the roads nature had provided, which were nearly always waterways, and giving to Indiana the first of her establishments upon the lines nature had written across her face.

It is hard to imagine a worse territorial division than the boundaries of Indiana enclosed; including as they did the Maumee lands and those of the Kankakee, the basin of the Wabash and the valley of Whitewater. Here were four clear and distinct water-sheds touching along the highlands, and their inhabitants stood back to back. In the early days of Indiana there was no logical grouping that could have made any common ground upon which to stand for self government. The people drifted in, some across the boundary from Ohio. One section of Indiana is still only an overflow from Cincinnati, and has all its more important connections in the direction of Cincinnati. Others worked their way into the lower valley of the Wabash. Others came by the northern routes and filled up the

Maumee region, and the Kankakee country finally developed after all the rest. If the settlers had come into these detached and disassociated areas from a common source they would still have had abundant room for differences of opinion and rivalry of interests, because they looked in different directions, toward Cincinnati, toward New York and toward New Orleans. With business interests pointing to outside markets their local doings were not likely to be harmonious.

The different sections were not friendly even in the time of our grandfathers. Their leading families had come, some from the middle states, others from Virginia by way of Kentucky, others from New England; and in the first quarter of the last century southerners and middle staters and New Englanders had relatively few common points of view outside their language and their larger government. They were provincialists, each with their own brand of provincialism, and with a conviction that this brand was best. And in this community into which they came they found the sectionalism that nature had provided, and brought another sectionalism based upon the different communities from which they came. They saw life from their southern or their northern point of view or in the spirit of their religious outlook in a generation when men made much of their local point of view and found in their religion an active guide outside the church. These things counted for a great deal in shaping Indiana in her earlier period and if our surveyors could be transported back into the first generation of Indiana they would have had to write down that Indiana was diverse, that it had not in any sense amalgamated, that section against section was pulling with an intensity that threatened badly for the future of the state. They might have said that if self-government on the

American plan could succeed in Indiana it could succeed anywhere. If an arbitrary set of boundaries could bring together people entirely disassociated and of different interests,—detached colonies with highly different outlooks,—if this state could organize and function smoothly, there was hope for the American future. They must have reported friction, of course, and with it heat. This centennial is the centennial of a community in which the local fire has burned for a hundred years without exploding, in which life has been none too tranquil. This is not that happy country that is without a history, but it is a country with a happy history of struggles that have been kept under control and have been stopped short of the worst outbreaks. A self-government that has worked along from controversy to controversy and has nevertheless kept unbroken within its original limits throughout this time is a triumph for the American type of statehood. Indiana has its lessons for us today, but the first Indiana did not offer clear promise of its future.

The first two generations in Indiana brought the grandsons of the conquerors into public life, and wrote a new chapter for our Domesday. Something happened to Indiana, softening the animosities and blunting the sectionalism. The most surprising thing that our inquisitors would find is the fact that between 1816 and the Mexican War, water had begun to run up-hill. Water in the colonial days had the aggravating habit of running only down hill. But now the steam boat ran up stream, changing the course of some of the internal communications. More than that, the state had begun its fight against geography. The Wabash highway had been turned into an important river and canal route, available from either end; the Michigan road had been run across from the Ohio to Lake Michigan, the

National road had cut along the water-shed through the middle of the state, and the water-ways, canals and turn-pikes had broken down much of the isolation of section, making it possible to carry on a communication between the sections that no sane man could have looked forward to in the days of the settlement of Indiana. By the close of the Mexican War, the turn-pike had done its share, the canal had added its, and on top of the turn-pike and canal were coming the earlier railways. There were not any railways in Indiana worthy of note until 1847, but the state was entering on a period that would bring every vital point into reasonable contact with every other point; so that, after fifty years of occupation the second generation born on Indiana soil could say that one of the things that had made for diversity in the original condition had been wiped away; had been replaced by forces whose trend was a possible unification.

The original settlers had started out with a diversity in their social experience. From the South, from New England and from the middle states, from the educated and the cultured, from the well-to-do and the poor, they had come in with points of view so different as to make life difficult for neighbors. In Indiana along the line of the frontier they had found, once they got settled, that conditions different from those they had known at home were likely to prevail. It made little difference where they came from when it came to lowering the great timbers for the cabin: chopping was just as hard for a Yankee as for a Sotherner, and the experiences reslting from handling the timbers were the same. Inside the cabin the babies came with about the same frequency, and with them came diseases, hard grinding labor, all the elements of life of the frontiersman. The frontiersman who lived to be forty was likely to live

to extreme old age and to last through anything that life might bring to him. They had been subject to frontier conditions that were uniform regardless of their origin, and the result was that every year the settlers gained more of the common quality.

As the new generation grew up in Indiana it must have been bitter for the good southern family to see that their children were no better than the Yankees', as it must have been bitter for a family with culture and education to see that their children were no better than the little rough children on the next clearing. The life of the frontier has ordinarily been a period not more than twenty-five years. By the time the first children born in a new frontier have ripened into matrimony the region has almost invariably settled down in life. Its log cabins have degenerated into smoke houses and big frame houses have taken their places. County seats have grown up and the old frontier is gone. The children have acquired similar habits. The two things that appear to have brought the change about in Indiana after a half century are in the first place, this frontier influence forcing upon the children born here the uniformity of type, regardless of their ancestors' home lands, and in the second place, the lust for communication,—the need for a market for their crops which had led the people to improve the waterways and build railroads, and to make communication flow back and forth in every possible direction across the state. These two things made possible amalgamation, and if our Domesday enumerators had come back they would have reported "the diversity has generally gone, its sharp edges have been rubbed off and there has been an increase of similarity among the inhabitants who there exist."

One of the saddest errors of judgment—one in whose

train disaster followed—was based upon the contemporary's failure to realize that in these fifty years Indiana had changed from a sectional into a unified community. In the days of Andrew Jackson, Indiana was pretty largely sectional, and that sectionalism was the sectionalism reflected from the plantation South. The southern leader never could get away from the idea that Indiana was a southern state. There were southern leaders who believed in the Civil War that the South had only to organize its confederacy for Indiana to join. They were blind to the influences that had turned the central face of Indiana from New Orleans to New York. The realization of that fact during the Civil War was a surprise to the confederacy. It was a good deal of a surprise in many quarters in the North and probably when the Union found what Indiana thought about the fundamental facts of its government, it knew better what it thought itself. The fact that this state had become unionized during this half century almost without knowing it, was the fact that made it possible for the Union to be maintained. Of course this does not mean that every citizen of Indiana agreed with every other one, but the internal controversies stopped short of an explosion and the preponderant opinion had unity and similarity and nationality that one would not have foreseen in the days of original settlement.

At the beginning of the century our first Domesday enumerators, in the days of our grandfathers' grandfathers, would have had to report that Indiana was diverse, showing little prospect of unification, and might have added that if Indiana could live as a state, any state might hope to live. A half century later they would have to say that through the forces of communication and the stronger

forces of frontier pressure upon the human habit Indiana had lost its sectionalism, and had become national.

And in the interval between this set of enumerators and those would go out today these tendencies have become more firmly grounded. In the last half century some of our states which fifty years ago were strongly and preponderantly American, have filled up with the foreign born; others of our newer States that today are important are mere congregations of citizens arrived from pre-existing states or from abroad. The purity of the American race is in many parts of our country threatened in the present period, because of the shifting of the new population into this country. But Indiana escaped having any of the greatest industrial centers; she kept unchanged the happy plan of former times. She increased continually, in her average thousand inhabitants, the proportion of the happy, comfortable, well-to-do middle class; not near enough to either extreme to be very much distressed by what either extreme was conscious of, and representing more and more truly the average of the whole United States. The difficulty is, we cannot strike the average elsewhere. We have to take the experiment that nature has staged, and that the hand of man has confused. We have to determine the various elements of the mixture in spite of the conflicting testimony of the various cooks who mixed it. We have to get the proportions and quantities of things contained. We cannot repeat the process and so when we find an instance in which nature has provided a reasonable experiment herself and has apparently left out some of those things which make it difficult to judge conditions in other communities, we are better prepared to come to a judgment on ourselves.

Since the first years in which Indiana showed to the United States that it had become amalgamated, and a

national organism, this process has gone on; types have developed. There was no middle west fifty or sixty years ago. There was a South, there was a West, but there was no middle West, no area that had shown its proclivities for reform, or for theoretical altruism in its politics. But the middle West has a definite meaning now. The middle class in which Indiana is so strong has produced its type in literature, "Huck Finn" and "Silas Lapham", and even "Freckles", adapted Hoosier though he is, are clear American. We get a sight in these of that happy-go-lucky character which has survived the hardships of the frontier, which includes the contempt for restraint that the frontier always had, the reliance upon self which the frontier never lacked, and that is perhaps our most important asset developed from the past.

After all, the study of our Domesday is significant if it gives us something upon which to stand today as we confront the future. What is it going to mean? What does this American result that we have found here signify with reference to the things we are going to have to look forward to ourselves? Every one is entitled to his own opinion. My own wonder is at the amazing strength of the institution we have built up. If the American state could live in Indiana, arbitrarily drawn out, including sections that had no business to be put together, including population from every conceivable American stock, then there is hope for the rest of the machine. The hopeful thing with reference to the future is not to be found by those who look upon government as a mechanism responding always to theoretical lines, responding immediately and precisely to the will of the director and delivering precisely the result intended by him. Persons who seek this will get relatively little comfort in considering any phase

of American history or of the middle West. We look to government to see what chance it offers to the average individual, for freedom, for growth, for self-restraint, without failing in the reasonable accomplishment of those reasonable desires that are coherently expressed. One may find in the West, as your Indiana shows it, comfort for all time. The machine of government is clumsy, it is wasteful of power, it takes more strength to make it go than a machine of its weight ought to take, but history has shown that it will accomplish any reasonable task. It will accomplish it perhaps as the vehicle did that moved the pioneers into this state in the beginning. In the pageant this afternoon was an old Conestoga wagon, an unconscious type of our American government. It is heavy and lumbering, but it is capacious; it can be made water tight, it can go over a log or stump, it can be rolled over and over down hill and start off again on its own running-gear. It can stand unreasonable treatment without ceasing to function as a wagon; and our government has much of that character. It goes, it actually works, and if we must count its cost, because it is an expensive mechanism, we must find our compensation in the fact that although it is wasteful it conserves the freedom of the individual to an extraordinary degree. It is possible to walk by the wagon, or to step aside to prospect, and yet know that the wagon ultimately will move along, not accurately nor precisely, but in substantial safety.

And as we study this Domesday of ours, of your state in particular and of other states, the same general lesson has to come out,—that living under conditions not the most promising they have endured, they have met shocks and have grown stronger. When we see the disasters likely to confront them and are apprehensive of collapse, we must

remember the things that have been met and passed, and cherish our belief that the future will be met and passed over in the same way. The wagon in the days to come will be creaking along, leaving every generations a little ahead of the generations that came before.

BUSINESS MEETING

A short business meeting was held Thursday afternoon. The reports of the Committee on Resolutions, Dr. Cox, chairman, and the Committee on Nominations, Dr. Green, chairman, were read and adopted.

The association decided to accept the invitation of Mr. Patterson and will hold its next meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Resolutions submitted by the Committee on Resolutions and adopted by the association.

"We congratulate the state of Indiana upon the completion of a hundred years of statehood marked by vigorous contributions to the political, social and economic development of our section and to our common Union, of which it was a conspicuous early product.

We congratulate the various individuals and organizations upon the successful series of celebrations by which this centennial occasion has been fittingly marked. We express our appreciation of the fact that our annual meeting was arranged at a time which enabled us to enjoy some portion of the celebration at the capital of the state.

To the members of the Indiana Historical Commission, the Department of Indiana History and Archives of the State Library, the Indiana Historical Society and the management of the Claypool hotel, we present our thanks for the courtesies that have marked this meeting, and for their efforts to make it a success from the standpoint of program and entertainment. We especially appreciate the offer of the Indiana Historical Society to provide for the publication of the proceedings of the present meeting.

In view of the regretted retirement of Mr. D. C. Shilling, our secretary and treasurer, from the post which he has so acceptably filled for the past five years, we wish to express our appreciation of the efficiency of his services and our best wishes for his continued success in his usual field of activity.

In company with our sister organization, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, we mourn the death of its secretary, Mr. Clarence S. Paine, who was likewise a member of our association and vitally interested in its welfare. Both organizations felt the influence of his genial enthusiasm, and will miss the practical aid that he was so ready to offer in furtherance of their peculiar work. May his example during this formative decade prove contagious.

The report of the Nominating Committee was read and adopted. The following officers were elected:

PRESIDENT—

Mr. B. S. Patterson, Secretary of Historical Society
of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—

Prof. J. R. Robertson, Berea College, Berea, Ky.

Prof. W. H. Siebert, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Ex-Gov. Wm. A. MacCorkle, Charleston, W. Va.

Prof. Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati, Ohio.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND TREASURER—

Prof. C. B. Coleman, Butler College, Indianapolis,
Indiana.

RECORDING SECRETARY AND CURATOR—

Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for
Women, Oxford, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—

The officers of the Association.

The former Presidents: E. O. Randall, Charles T. Greve, I. J. Cox, A. B. Hulbert, Harry B. Mackoy, J. E. Bradford, J. M. Callahan, H. W. Elson, Harlow Lindley.

Elected by the Association: Dr. H. S. Green, Prof. H. J. Webster, Samuel M. Wilson, Prof. Mary G. Young.

The report of the treasurer was read and accepted. The announcement was made that automobiles were waiting to take the members of the association to the Pageant of Indiana to be given that afternoon at Riverside Park. The meeting adjourned.

HARLOW LINDLEY, *President*.

ELIZABETH CROWTHER, *Recording Secretary*.

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- No. 2. NORTHWEST TERRITORY.
Letter of Nathan Dane concerning the Ordinance of 1787.
Governor Patrick Henry's Secret Letter of Instruction to George Rogers Clark.
- No. 3. THE USES OF HISTORY. By President Andrew Wylie, D. D.
- No. 4. THE NATIONAL DECLINE OF THE MIAMI INDIANS. By John B. Dillon.
- No. 5. EARLY HISTORY OF INDIANAPOLIS AND CENTRAL INDIANA. By Nathaniel Belton.
- No. 6. JOSEPH G. MARSHALL. By Prof. John L. Campbell.
- No. 7. JUDGE JOHN LAW. By Charles Denby.
- No. 8. ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDIANA. By Prof. E. T. Cox.
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INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 6.

No. 2.

Journal of Thomas Dean

A VOYAGE TO INDIANA IN 1817

**EDITED BY
JOHN CANDEE DEAN.**

**ANNOTATED BY
RANDLE C. DEAN.**

**INDIANAPOLIS
C. E. PAULEY & CO.,
1918**

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS DEAN

My grandfather, Thomas Dean, was a very methodical business man, who left a chest of papers, containing letters, contracts, accounts, legal documents etc., all filed in perfect order. There are old letters from Quaker friends and relatives dating back to 1799. In this chest, now in Indianapolis, was found the journal of a journey made by him in 1817, which is published in full herewith. This journal is the simple record of a voyage made one hundred years ago, from Central New York to central Indiana, all the way by water.

The purpose of the journey was to secure land in the West for the Brothertown Indians, then living in Oneida County, State of New York. Owing to the encroachments of the white population, and their desire to purchase Indian lands in New York, it was deemed desirable to move the Brothertown Indians to the West, where they would have more land, advantageous surroundings, and removed from injurious influence incident to the presence of the white population on the weakness of the Indian character.

The New York Indians were the remnants of seven tribes of New England Indians, who had been moved to Oneida County, New York, in 1788. A tract of land had been purchased from the Oneida Indians in 1774, but owing to the hostility of the Mohawk tribe during the Revolutionary War, it was considered unsafe for them to move until after the war had closed. The Brothertown Indians consisted of remnants of the following tribes: Mohegans, Farmingtons, Stoningtons, Pequods, Narragansetts, Montauks, and Neshantucks.

The boat crew, for the voyage to Indiana, consisted of chiefs and leading men of the Brothertown tribes, as follows: Paul Dick, Jacob Dick, Thomas Isaacs, Charles Isaacs, and Rudolphus Fowler. There were also two Indian women aboard, Sarah Dick and Betsy Isaacs, wives of chiefs. The only white person in the company was Thomas Dean, their attorney, agent, and captain, then only 34 years old.

There is no description of the boat, but at Vincennes, Indiana, "Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler, who had been on the boat yesterday, took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication."* The boat drew twenty-one inches of water. Going down the Allegheny River they took on three passengers; it therefore carried eleven people with ease, besides the chests and other cargo. It was built by Thomas Dean at Deansboro, Oneida County, New York, and launched into the Oneida Creek. He, with his party, ran the boat down this creek into Oneida Lake, out through Oneida River into Oswego River, and down into Lake Ontario. On Lake Ontario he sailed to Niagara and up the Niagara River, portaged around the great falls and sailed to Buffalo. From Buffalo he sailed on Lake Erie to a harbor near Chautauqua Lake and there portaged the boat into that lake. The waters of Chautauqua Lake are discharged into the Allegheny River, so that it was possible to sail down the Allegheny into the Ohio River and thus reach the mouth of the Wabash River.

The southern part of Indiana he found sparsely settled, but the central and northern parts were still wildernesses. In his voyage from Fort Harrison up the Wabash to the mouth of the Mississinewa River and return, a distance of about 360 miles, he does not mention having seen a single

* Dr. Shuler's description of the boat *Brothertown Enterprise* will be found in Appendix B.



THOMAS DEAN,
[1783-1844]
OF DEANSBORO, N. Y.

white man. The Indians he met on the river could not speak English and he therefore had great difficulty in communicating with them. He was looking for good land, well watered, and describes the fine, fertile, silent prairies near the Wabash. In his journey on foot from Fort Harrison to the White River country and return, he passed through a wilderness of forests sparsely inhabited by Indians. The hardships were most severe. What would a man of today think of making a journey from Terre Haute to Fort Wayne, about 220 miles, most of the way on foot, with a heavy pack on his back? Some days Dean and his party traveled forty miles.

His unusual resourcefulness was exhibited at Fort Wayne, where he was unable to obtain a boat for taking himself and party down the Maumee River. He at once went into the forest, cut down a big tree, and made a large canoe, not only sufficient for his party, but in which he was able to take two additional passengers. The canoe was made in two working days, launched into the Maumee River, served its purpose, and was afterward sold for a good price at Fort Meigs.

It is difficult to believe that this modern Jason, toiling through the forests of Indiana with a heavy pack, swimming rivers to get his boat over rapids, sleeping on beds of wet brush and leaves in forests, sometimes without food, and living like an Indian, had left behind him, at Deansboro, N. Y., a large, beautiful home, situated in the charming Oriskany Valley. He had left a wife and five children. He was owner of large farming interests, and was the chief man of affairs in that part of the county. Besides being engrossed in the management of Indian affairs, he served as postmaster, justice of the peace, etc., was called frequently to act on arbitration boards; was on numerous boards of trustees, including trustee of Hamilton College; trustee, president, and finally sole owner of the Friends Cotton and Woolen Manufactory. Deansboro was named after him.

From his journal, under date of August 29, it will be seen that while in an old shelter, made by the Indians for hunting on the bank of the Wabash, he realized the serious hazards that he was running in making this journey. He says:

"This morning I awoke at about 2 o'clock and put out the fire, laid down again, went to sleep. I had a remarkable dream, which agitated me very much. It brought me to the situation of my family, and the state of my affairs in which I had left them; the imprudence of leaving home on such a journey without first settling all of my affairs; that they would lose greatly in case of my never returning to them again. The contents of my dream agitated me so much that I could not eat much breakfast."

He was a pioneer of most sturdy stock, over six feet tall and very muscular.* He was born in Westchester County, near New York city, in 1783, and moved with his father to Oneida County in 1798. They were Quakers, and his father received an annuity of £50 from the Society of Friends in New York city for services as missionary engaged in teaching the Indians industry and morality. Thus Thomas Dean grew into benevolent work among the Brothertown Indians, and the Quaker annuity eventually came to him. The nearest postoffice was fourteen miles away, at Old Fort Schuyler, now Utica.

He devoted his life to Indian philanthropy. He was confident that the Indians could be made into industrious, moral citizens. His energy was prodigious. He spent much time in Washington, for some years going to every session of Congress to secure legislation in protection of the Indian. These journeys were made in stage coaches. The distance from Deansboro to Washington was about 500 miles. It is interesting to note the cost of transportation by stage in those days.

* He was a cousin of John Dean, the officer in charge of the men who captured Major Andre at Tarrytown, N. Y., in 1780.

His account in 1828 shows the cost of two seats in stage from Utica to Albany, \$7.00; Albany to New York city, \$20.00; New York to Philadelphia, \$12.00; Philadelphia to Baltimore, \$12.00; Baltimore to Washington, \$5.00; total fares, one way, \$56.00. There were also tips to drivers, ferry over the Susquehanna and other rivers, extras for trunks, etc. His visits to Albany to meet the New York Legislature were much more frequent.

His accounts with the Brothertown Indians show the following entry: "They agreed to allow me for my extra services going to the city of Washington six times, to Green Bay, Wis., four times, and sundry other journeys, in all about 20,000 miles." This was before the days of steam.

Thomas Dean was not only the attorney and agent of the Brothertown Indians, but also acted for the Stockbridge and Oneida tribes. He did not succeed in acquiring Indian lands in Indiana, but in 1824 he made a treaty with the Winnebago and Menominee Indians by which the Brothertown tribes secured a tract of land on the east side of Fox River, Wisconsin, eight miles wide and thirty miles long.

Owing to a dispute over the title to this land in 1828, he made a new treaty with the Federal Government, by which the land on Fox River was exchanged for nearby land on the east shore of Lake Winnebago. Twenty three thousand acres were laid off in a square. The title was in fee simple from the Federal Government, secured by patent. The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians were removed to this tract, which they now occupy.

Thomas Dean died at Deansboro, N. Y., in 1843.

JOHN CANDEE DEAN.

Indianapolis, Ind., March, 1918.

PART I

VOYAGE FROM DEANSBORO, N. Y. TO NIAGARA RIVER --

Oneida Creek, N. Y., May 31st, 1817, 6 o'clock A. M. Wind N. W., and cloudy, with some rain. All hands at work fitting for the voyage. At 15 minutes of 10 A. M. Paul Dick arrived and joined our company, and 20 minutes past 11 his father, Thomas Dick, came to see us; 30 minutes past 1 P. M. ran down Oneida Creek with Burlingame and several others on board. Ran out of the creek into the lake and made sail, the wind blowing a gale from the N. West. We made two or three tacks, but the lake was so rough that we did not gain more than one or two miles and it was thought best to run back into the creek and wait until the wind abated. Paul Dick and I went to Burlingame's, about three-quarters of a mile from the boat, and lodged; the rest of the company lodged in an old house or in the boat.

June 1st. At 3 A. M. P. Dick and I started to meet our company and all set about getting ready to start. It was clear and very frosty; some ice. We drank some chocolate, ate some bread, all aboard, and went down the creek to the lake (Oneida) and took leave of Thomas Dick. Set sail at 6 A. M.; the wind was very light, and from the W. S. W., so that we had to row. At 12 o'clock, opposite Roderdam, we were rowing along at a good rate, not expecting any shoal; I was steering when I discovered a rock, and we had but just time to stop our headway and put about. The water on the shoal was not more than a foot deep. I considered it fortunate that we had not a fair wind and going very fast or we might have injured our boat, for we had no idea of there being any such shoal water in or near the middle of the lake. At 2 P. M. we landed on Frenchman's Island and took dinner. It is a beautiful island, well timbered, containing thirty or forty acres. At

5 P. M. we got under way with head winds, but ran down the Oneida River to the head of Cognoy Rift and put up at Silas Bello's.

June 2d. We breakfasted on eels and put our baggage on board. The boat drifted around on a root, and in getting on board she rocked on it and it punched a hole in her larboard bow, on the second strake from the garboard, about one and a half inches in diameter. We immediately discovered the leak and ran down the rift, intending to go to Three River Point, but she took in water so fast that we had to go on shore, unload all our things, draw the boat up and put in a graving piece. We repaired our boat, loaded her, and embarked about 11 o'clock, went down to Three River Point, stopped and made some inquiry about the river. We then passed down to Three River Rift and took on a pilot, giving him one dollar to run the Rift. Then we continued down to Six Mile Creek and stayed all night. In the morning we ran down to the Falls of Oswego, took out our load, hired a pilot to run over the falls for 8 shillings, hired our goods carried over for 8 shillings, and employed a pilot to pilot us to Oswego for 8 shillings more. We arrived there about 5 o'clock P. M. The wind being fair, we concluded to load our stores and put out into the lake (Ontario), although it was cloudy. We put out to sea about 7 o'clock P. M. on the 3d of June and ran all night. The next day we put into Pultneyville. We ran on to Genesee River, arriving there at half past 7 P. M. On the 5th and 6th of June we lay there wind-bound until about 5 P. M. Then we ran up to the inlet of Long Lake, about four miles, where we stayed all night, and in the morning put out and sailed up Braddocks Bay, thence to Sandy Creek, about seven miles, and there we put up for the night.

June 8th. We started early in the morning with a fair wind,

and clear and pleasant, and put into Eighteen Mile Creek, obtained some bread and milk, then stood on to Twelve Mile Creek and camped. About fifty-one miles this day.

June 9th. Started with a fair wind. It rained very hard. We stopped at Niagara at about 12 o'clock and went to view the garrison at the fort, then put up the Niagara River to Lewiston.

PART II

VOYAGE FROM NIAGARA TO LAKE CHAUTAUQUA

June 10th. We went to get our boat hauled over the portage, but could not. I crossed over to Queenstown, Canada, to get it over the portage, returned and crossed with the boat and agreed with A. Brown to take it, with the baggage, for six dollars. I entered the boat at the collector's office for 50 cents.

June 11th. We loaded our boat and baggage onto two wagons at about 10 A. M., and passed slowly along with the boat and baggage. Had a very poor ox team to draw the boat. Thomas Isaac and I, walking a little ahead, went to see the famous falls of Niagara and then met the teams. The rest of the company then went to view the falls. We arrived at Chippawa about 5 P. M. without much difficulty or damage. Thomas and I began to unload, and when the rest of the company came up we ran the wagon into the river and launched the boat. We examined our baggage and dried some of it, much of it being all wet with the heavy rains that had fallen. It is a very fine day and dried up the mud smartly, the wind blowing high from the northwest. We ran up the river about two miles and put up at Mrs. Holden's.

June 12th. A fine, pleasant morning. We started for Buffalo and had a strong opposing current. We soon crossed

over to the west channel and took dinner on Grand Island. Kept to the west side of the island, on the west side of the river, until we arrived at the ferry opposite Black Rock where we crossed and arrived about 17 minutes past 7 P. M. and put up for the night.

June 13th. In the morning we had a tight pull to get up the rapids the wind being ahead. We took breakfast on the beach not far below Buffalo and arrived at Buffalo about 9 A. M., where we stopped, received and read letters, and wrote home. We discovered our boat leaked more than usual; drew her out on the beach and found we had started one of the nails in the seam on the bottom, and repaired it. We put our things on board at about 8 P. M., returned up the creek by the town, where we took up lodgings.

June 14th. We found all things safe, although there had been a hard wind and a heavy shower of rain in the night. We took breakfast at Buffalo, transacted our business, obtained some provisions, etc., and put out to sea 15 minutes past 12 o'clock. It rained hard, and but little wind. There were two schooners and a sloop which went out at about 30 minutes past 7 A. M. We passed along, under our oars, until about 2 P. M., when we came in sight of the three vessels standing on near our course. The wind began to blow a good breeze, and about 6 P. M. we came up with one of the schooners, called the "Buffalo Packet," the other vessels standing to the west. We spoke to the packet and found she was going to put into Cattaraugus Creek, where we intended to make a harbor. We passed the packet and ran into the creek about 35 minutes past 7 o'clock and took lodging, all being wet. We came about thirty miles. The schooner came in soon after us with several passengers, who were all wet as well as we, and some of them very seasick. We had a good harbor in this creek. The captain of the packet informed me that he intended to put out for Shaddocks Bay between 12 and 1 o'clock

in the morning, so we concluded to start early to be in his company.

June 15th. All hands on board and we got under way 40 minutes past 3 A. M. and left the harbor. We soon caught up with the packet, which had sailed some time before us. At about 5 o'clock there came a very thick fog, so that we could see but a little way ahead, and we steered southwest and by south until about 30 minutes past 6 o'clock, with a light breeze from the N. N. E.; then the wind began to increase, the fog soon disappeared, we found we had gained on the schooner while running in the fog. The wind blowing a good breeze, we soon overhauled her near the bay where we intended to make harbor. Supposed there was a creek to put into and get breakfast, but when we arrived in Shaddocks Bay we found there was no creek there, and the wind blew so hard and the swells ran so high that we could not beat out of the bay again. We out with the anchor which we had made at Oneida Creek. This was the first time we tried to use it, so we did not know how it would hold, and now if it gave way we must go ashore. Though it was not rocky, yet the surf ran so high that it is probable it would injure our boat; but as high as the swells were, our anchor held, so that we did not drag more than four or five rods. We kept an oar out at the stern to keep the boat straight with the wind and she rode out the gale very safely, though it made R. Fowler and S. Dick very seasick, it not being for the first time. I borrowed the boat belonging to the schooner to come along side and take Sarah Dick, Betsy Isaac, Jacob Dick, with Charles, on shore, and left Thomas Isaac, Paul Dick, and myself to manage the boat as well as we could. R. Fowler was so sick that he did not feel like doing anything and instead of having a warm breakfast, which we expected, when we put about to run in, we were glad to take a piece of bread and raw pork, which relished very well with me. This place is

about fifteen miles from the Cattaraugus Creek. About 12 o'clock the wind abated, and we got all on board, started for Portland, about fifteen miles farther up the lake, where we arrived about 10 o'clock P. M. It was with some difficulty that we found the harbor; not knowing the shore, we ran a great way out of our course to search the shore for fear we would run by the harbor, and then we would have found no harbor until we came to Erie. The shore of the lake, most of the way, was perpendicular rocks, so that there are but few good harbors. We hauled our boat up on the beach as far as we could and took lodgings.

June 16th. R. Fowler proposed to go across the portage to the Chautauqua Lake and then down the Ohio River. Jacob Dick and Paul Dick joined with him. Thomas Isaac and I were for keeping up the lake, but we consented to the voice of the majority, although it was much farther, but they said it was safer. We consented. Paul and Rudolphus went out and engaged two men and teams to take our boat and baggage across, for which we were to pay five dollars each. We loaded our boat and baggage, went about two miles to the four corners of Portland, and put up for the night.

July 17th. We started with the teams and passed a very rough, hilly road filled with stumps, roots, and crossways over the land between the waters of Lake Erie and the Chautauqua Lake.* The country was thinly settled and in some parts pretty good, and well timbered with some of the finest chestnut trees that I ever saw. We arrived at Mayville about 1 o'clock P. M. It is a small village on the northwest shore of Chautauqua Lake. The lake has very handsome shores and is well stocked with different kinds of fish. We left Mayville, went down the lake about sixteen miles against the wind, and

* The route of the party, from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Big Miami river, was the same as that of M. de Celeron, in 1749. See Appendix A.

put up on the northeast side of the lake at the house of a man by the name of Chene, where there was very good land with heavy timber.

PART III.

VOYAGE FROM CHAUTAUQUA LAKE TO PITTSBURGH.

June 18th. We started with a head wind and ran down to the rapids, where there are mills, with locks for boats to pass through. We went through them, and about one-half mile below we went to the village of Jamestown to get meat, bread, and cheese, but I could obtain no bread, nor pork under 30 cents per pound, and 18 cents for poor new skim milk cheese. It being about 12 o'clock, and having eaten very little this day, we had to dine on potatoes, crackers, and a fish which I bought for 9 cents, in the morning. Being refreshed by our frugal meal, we embarked and moved down the Chautauqua Creek, a small navigable stream with a quick current and a smooth bottom. It is fortunate for us that the waters are high at this time, or we could not go down, our boat drawing about twenty-one inches of water, and in a dry time there is not more than nine inches or a foot of water in the creek. We took in three passengers, one of whom was a good pilot, and we went down the stream, which was very crooked, with swift current, which made it difficult to sail. We passed down to the Casadaga Creek six miles, and there our pilot left us. The river was larger and the current very moderate, the bank low and the flats large. We passed down ten miles and came into the Conewango Creek, which is a considerable stream. It comes in from the northeast, and there we put up at Captain Dollof's for the night. We obtained four quarts of milk, half a loaf of bread, and one pound of butter, of which we made a supper. Part of a bed was put on the floor for three of us to lie on. All were wet, there having been very heavy showers, which lasted almost all the afternoon.



HOME OF THOMAS DEAN.

June 19th. We called for our bill and the reply was \$2, which astonished me. We reasoned with him until the avacious wretch was satisfied with 12 shillings. We then proceeded down the river, which was very crooked, but with a gentle current and a deep channel. The banks are low and frequently overflowed by high water, and the soil is rich, though rather low for cultivation to advantage. We went about six or seven miles, when we came to a small stream called Still Water, which river is from seven to fourteen feet deep, and the passage easy to the rapids, which are about twenty miles, where we stopped and took breakfast on our scanty collection of food at the dam about half past 1 o'clock. We had two pigeons, a pheasant, and a small groundhog, which we picked up in our passage of twenty miles down the river this morning, not being able to purchase either bread or meat within the distance which we came. After refreshing ourselves, we took in a pilot from the mill to run us over the dam, which he easily did, and at the mill we took in three passengers for Warren, Pa., one of whom was an Indian by the name of Henry O'Bail, son of the famous chief called Cornplanter, who acted as pilot. After the shower we went on toward Warren. We had a strong current and a crooked channel for eight and one-half miles to Warren, where we arrived about 7 P. M. Here we obtained some bread, meat, and butter, though at an extravagant price. We took up lodgings for the night at the inn.

June 20th. We left Warren at about 5 A. M. with our own company and ran down the river to Broken Straw, about twelve miles, a stream which comes in from the northwest; then passed down about thirty-four miles, went on shore and fried bacon and boiled potatoes, not having bread sufficient. We went on board and ate our dinner. We got some wet, there being a very heavy shower, which our sails did not completely shelter us from. We started two or three deer from the

river, which R. Fowler went in pursuit of, and got a chance to shoot at one, but did not hit him. We saw them again, when J. and Paul Dick went in the chase, but did not kill any. Night drawing near, and having the appearance of rain, we went down the river with our oars at work. We soon saw another deer in the river, which we fired at, but did not get. It became foggy and I expected rain, so we ran down to Oil Creek, about seven or eight miles farther, and put up about a mile and a half from the place where the Seneca oil is found on the waters of the creek, but the water is so high now that the place where the oil issues from the earth could not be seen. We came down the river today fifty-three miles, although we had a strong head wind through the day.

June 21st. We left Oil Creek at 10 minutes past 5 A. M., went down seven miles to Franklin, at the mouth of French Creek, ran in there to get some bread, when it began to rain, and we took breakfast. When the rain abated we started about 10 A. M. and passed down the river. There were but few houses, all small log cabins, and the inhabitants appeared to live by hunting, fishing, and the few shillings they could get from the pockets of the travelers. Lee, the landlord where we took breakfast, informed me that there were large settlements in the country back from the river, but there was but very little grain raised; that the land had a very good appearance, but did not produce well after two or three crops. He said that the frost had injured their crops very much for some time back. After the rain stopped we went on down the river with the current, helped by our oars, to a place called Miller's Eddy, about fifty-eight miles, and put up at an unfinished house.

June 22d. Started about half past 4 A. M., ran down the river, procured some bread on shore, took breakfast, continued on down, and passed Armstrong, a small village on the south side of the river. It is the county seat of that county,

forty-five miles above Pittsburg. We put into shore and stopped at a house two miles below Freeport. From there, passed on down to a place called Mechanicsburg, on the south side of the river. It consisted of several small houses, most of them abandoned by the inhabitants, four families only living there, and they so poor they could afford us no relief or lodging. It rained very hard. We crossed over the river and found poor lodging on the opposite shore, where we put up, having come seventy-two miles. We were now within about ten miles of Pittsburgh.

June 23d. We started about half past 4 A. M., and ran down the river, passing three arks with families going down the river; arrived in Pittsburg about 6 A. M., where we put in for provisions and to get breakfast. I wrote home, after breakfast our curiosity surpassed our anxiety to proceed, so we went to see some parts of the town, the steam factories, viz.: a saw mill, grist mill, nail factory, rolling mill, and the Flint Glass Works, which was not then in operation, but we went into the warehouse where we saw some of as good glassware as is brought from England or India. We also went to see the flour mills. The town is well situated on the point, but it might be very considerably improved in beauty of appearance. Their manufactories are most interesting and surprising. Not getting our supplies and not satisfying our curiosity, we were not yet ready to start until about 6 P. M., and then we concluded to put up for the night at our landing place at Shepherd's. I would be glad to give a more particular description of Pittsburgh, but time will not permit.

PART IV.

VOYAGE FROM PITTSBURG TO CINCINNATI

June 24th. We started 30 minutes past 3 A. M. from Pittsburgh. The morning was very foggy and continued thick un-

til about 8 A. M. We passed Big Beaver, a stream putting into the Ohio, and then sailed on with a gentle and smooth current. Took breakfast on board, then ran down to Steubenville, where we went on shore to get fire, some bread, etc. We had not time to take a view of the town as we wanted to, because we were rushing to pass on our journey down to Big Grave Creek, making 112 miles this day traveled.

June 25th. In the morning it was foggy, but cleared off, and we ran down to Beaver Creek, which we called eight miles by the current, then went down, passing several islands and many points, until we came below States Creek, then running on our oars and by the current until we came to the ——— (Probably Sugar Creek, W. Va., just above St. Mary's). We put in and stayed all night near an island called the Three Brothers.

June 26th. Started at 5 A. M. and ran down to Marietta, about ten miles. We put in there for breakfast and water, waiting until it stopped raining. We passed the Little Kanawha River 45 minutes past 4 P. M. and then went down to Blennerhassett Island, where we went on shore and saw a beautiful landscape with very fertile soil. The elegant buildings that formerly stood on it were consumed by fire, and their chimneys were only to be seen from a distance. We passed by Little Hockhocking and then Big Hockhocking on the right side at 15 minutes past 7 P. M. We passed Belleville at 45 minutes past 9 P. M. and concluded to run during the night, it being dark. We ran all night, but had little chance of seeing much of the shore or many of the islands we came upon. Forty-one miles today by daylight.

June 27th. Before day we passed Letart Rapids (at Letartsville, O.) and down by the Great Kanawha River and so down by Gallipolis, running on all day and all night, passing several villages and tributary streams.

June 28th. We passed the Canseonnick Creek about 5

A. M., and down to Limestone, or Maysville, at 5 P. M., where we got more provisions. This is a handsome town on the left side of the river. From here we passed down to a small village called Ripley, about ten miles below Limestone Creek, where we put up, being about 248 miles below Marietta. I was unwell, having taken cold by being out the night before and lying in the heat of the sun the next day.

June 29th. We left Ripley in the morning and passed by Augusta about 10 A. M., arriving at Cincinnati at 9 P. M., where we put up for the night.

PART V.

VOYAGE FROM CINCINNATI TO THE MOUTH OF THE WABASH RIVER.

June 30th. In the morning we expected to wash our clothes and spend the day at Cincinnati. We ran two nights to get there, but not finding a convenient place for washing, we took a view of the steam mills, town, etc. I went to look for Robert Hunt, but found he had moved eight miles from town, so I was not able to see him. We concluded to take in provisions, etc., and start down the river, and after taking a preliminary sail on the river with four passengers and after passing General Harrison's Seat, came to Lawrenceburg at about 9 P. M., twenty-nine miles below Cincinnati. We expected to put up here for the night, but could not get lodgings to our satisfaction. We left three of our passengers, but one continued with us to the Falls of the Ohio. We started at about 10 and ran all night.

July 1st. We passed Port Williams on the Kentucky River in the morning, and stopped at West Port to take dinner, then ran down to New London and put up for the night. On the 2d we went to Louisville, arriving at 8 P. M. Here we ob-

tained lodgings, being about 180 miles from Cincinnati. This is a handsome town of Kentucky.

July 3d. I wrote home, and started about 9 a. m. to run down to the falls. We passed over them without any difficulty; nothing to be seen of them except a strong current and a ripple on the right side near shore. Passed Salt River about 3 p. m. In the evening we put up about 8 p. m., Jacob Dick being unwell.

July 4th. We continued our voyage, Jacob Dick being some better. We sailed all day down the pleasant current of the Ohio and only went on shore to get some vegetables, etc. Not finding a suitable place to lodge, we concluded to run all night, and so passed on throughout the night.

July 5th. We continued our voyage until we stopped for breakfast, then ran down to Anderson's Ferry ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Anderson River, Ky.), put in, and crossed over to the opposite shore to Troy to get good water. In the evening ran down about three miles, and with some difficulty got lodging on a floor.

July 6th. We passed down eight or ten miles and took breakfast on the shore near a house where a woman had a young child. After breakfast we started with a good breeze, though ahead, and beat down to the Yellow Banks; passed the village at that place about 3 p. m., but not stopping. We continued for about two miles and put in shore to be sheltered from a very heavy shower which we were threatened with. Here we obtained our dinner at the house of a very hospitable gentleman of Kentucky, and there being a very heavy storm of rain, wind, and thunder, we put up for the night with him.

July 7th. We ran down to near the Frenchman's or Three Mile Island, about fifteen miles, and put in for breakfast. We found the people in this place, as well as in many other places where we stopped, very poor. There were no seats or

furniture in the house, so we cooked our food, took it on board, and ate as we sailed. The wind became fair and we ran down before a light breeze to below Pigeon Creek, then beat down about two or three miles to the Red Bank at the village of Henderson, Ky., where we stopped at about half past 8 P. M. After some time I found poor lodgings for our company. We thought of walking out to see a steam mill, but in the morning we concluded not to.

July 8th. We understood that the steam mill would not be in operation through the day, and finding the poverty of the place to be so great, we concluded to cleanse our boat and proceed, for we could get neither flour, meal, milk, butter, nor cheese, and our stock was small. We thought best to run down farther, although we had not eaten since we took breakfast at Frenchman's Island. After our boat was cleansed, we reloaded, passed down the river five or six miles to the place of a wealthy planter of Kentucky, who had many slaves, from one of whom we bought some onions and cucumbers. The gentleman was very polite to us and furnished us with greens, squashes, etc. He had a fine plantation and about one hundred slaves in different parts of his lands. We started about half past 11 A. M., went down the river and took our breakfast as we sailed. The wind was ahead, as it usually was. We sailed till near sundown, then went on shore near Straight Island, made a fire, and cooked our supper. We concluded to run down to the mouth of the Wabash in the night. The boatswain and I took the watch, the rest turned in about 10 P. M., and we went to near the head of Wabash Island. We concluded to go ashore for fear of passing that river unnoticed, as it was very dark. We called all hands and ran ashore, made fast to some willows about 1 A. M., and lay down to sleep on the boat.

July 9th. We started early and ran down by the island

to the mouth of the Wabash River. The description by the Navigator of the river, etc., published in 1817, I cannot vouch for. I am convinced it is not correct in all respects, viz.: at the Frenchman's or Three Mile Island it appears to be erroneous, but according to his statement it is 1,003 miles to the mouth of the Wabash River, where we arrived this morning at 6 A. M. Here we turned into the river and passed up four or five miles and landed for breakfast about 9 A. M. As far as we have come we find the Wabash to be a fine river about 250 or 300 yards wide, with a gentle current, though it is expected that the current will be stronger as we ascend. In passing the waters of the Ohio it was not so much to our disadvantage that it rained nearly every day, for it raised the river fifteen or twenty feet above low water mark, which made it safe and easy passing down.

PART VI

VOYAGE FROM THE MOUTH OF THE WABASH RIVER TO VINCENNES.

July 9th, 1817. We arrived in the mouth of the Wabash River at about 6 o'clock A. M., after passing 1,003 miles on the Ohio River, 30 miles on the Chautauqua Lake and its waters; the Conewango River, 25 miles; Allegheny River to Pittsburgh, 197 miles; total, 1,255 miles; the grand total route we came from home, 1,546 miles. Being a long time on our way, and in much rain, we concluded to lay by and wash some of our clothes and clean ourselves. So we ran up the Wabash River four or five miles and went on shore, took breakfast, and made a wash. I was quite sick by taking a drink of buttermilk and water. The Wabash appears to be a handsome river, about 270 yards wide, its current smooth and not very rapid, with handsome sandy banks, though subject to be overflowed by the water for several miles

on each side, so that at times the river spreads to the width of ten or fifteen miles, and some said twenty miles; that the banks could not be settled with safety, therefore we found but few houses. We got through with our wash and dinner and all on board about 7 P. M., and rowed upstream about four and one-half miles to a house on the Indiana shore and took lodgings on the floor.

July 10th. We concluded to take breakfast before we started, so we cooked on shore, took breakfast, settled with our host, John McDaniel or Donil, and started about 8 or 9 A. M. It was said that we were ten miles from the mouth of the Wabash and two miles from the Ohio River. We had a fair wind, though very light, and soon found that the navigation of the river was obstructed in some places by large bars of fine sand, which in many places extended one mile across the river, and the water was not more than twelve or eighteen inches deep, while in the channel it is five or six feet. We here found the current to be stronger, though it was very smooth. The bank of the river was from ten to fifteen feet high, and by the appearance of the trees on the flats the water flowed eight or ten feet on them in times of high water. The land on the shore in some places appeared to be very rich and fertile and in other places not so good. About 2 P. M. we had a shower of rain, then the wind became ahead, though it was not hard. We ran up to within a half mile of what is called the Little Cutoff. About 30 minutes past 5 P. M. we went to cook dinner. We were told that we had come sixteen miles, and were four miles from the Ohio River. We took dinner, it being near sunset. No other house nearer than ten miles on the river, and passage up the river difficult, it was thought best to put up for the night, and we lay on the floor. We came about sixteen miles this day.

July 11. We started about 5 A. M. and ran up to the

Cutoff or chute as it is called. This is a part of the river that cuts off a great bend and forms an island. To go around the bend would be seven miles and to go across is about two, so that the island was nine miles in circumference. We entered the chute and found a swift current, and very full of logs and trees, so that it was difficult getting along. However, we with great exertion rode through in one hour and forty minutes; went up one-half mile and crossed onto the Illinois side, took breakfast on the bank, and then went on. The wind being fair, but light, it helped us some; the current being strong, rising, and smooth. We ran up to Wilkenson's Ferry and took dinner of mush and milk. This is ten or twelve miles from where we started. Near this place we saw the first rocks or stones since we came on the Wabash, as big as birds' eggs. After dinner we went two or three miles and came to a rapid called the Grain Chain. This swift water, with some rocks in the bottom, we ran up without difficulty, then passed several bends in the river, which brought the wind ahead, though it was light, and the clouds gathered on every side as though it would rain very hard, and there was much hard thunder and lightning. We ran until a little after sunset and put up at a cabin. The people very properly call them all cabins, here, they being small huts, though this one was poorer than common. We supped on mush and milk and turned down on the floors, where we rested indifferently. The man told us we had come twenty miles this day.

July 12th. We started about sunrise and ran up the river against a strong current most of the way three miles to the Grand Cutoff, which is about two and one-half miles across and twelve or fifteen around the island. It was thought we could not get up with our boat through the chute; we landed at the point and went to reconnoitre. We went up to the rapids, about a quarter of a mile, while breakfast was pre-

paring, and found strong rapids with rocky bottom. As bad as it appeared, we concluded to try, so we returned, took breakfast, and proceeded up to the rapids, which were very swift and very rocky. The water falls, by appearance, about six feet in eight or nine rods, and the rocks are large. We ran our boat up to the foot of the rapids, took out our chest, boxes and some other articles to lighten the boat, and carried them up to the head of the rapids. It is at this place that the Harmonists are building a famous grist mill. They have a fine quarry of stone that is easy hewn and would make grindstones. Their work appeared to be well done and their walls very thick and strong. Some of the inwalls were five or six feet square and the wall laid smooth. There were twenty or thirty hands at work at it, carpenters, stone cutters, and laborers. They were very friendly to us. We ran across to the right-hand side of the stream near where the mill was building. Thomas Dick, Isaac J. Dick and R. Fowler took hold of the bowfast; P. Dick and I were in the boat, Paul on the bow with a pole, and I steered. The current ran very swiftly and it was hard work to hold her by the fast, but some of the Harmonists took hold and assisted. We ran up by the worst rock, the fast broke, and we swung round in spite of what Paul and I could do, and went down sidewise over the rocks. Some of them were so near out of water that we thought the boat would overset, but we went down without much injury and then worked the boat over on the right shore, where all hands got on board, and we ran up to the chute. The Harmonists were on the beach with another rope to help us. We noted that one fast was bent at the small sternfast, and the other warped. Then, after much exertion, we went up the chute. They would take nothing for their assistance. We took in our goods and proceeded up the cutoff through a gentle current until we came to the main river, though it was full of logs, trees, etc.

Then we went up three-quarters of a mile to the landing, opposite the town of Harmony, where we arrived all fatigued about 1 p. m. We landed and took dinner, went up to town and obtained some fresh supplies of provisions. It being near night, we concluded to put up for the night and to lay over the Sabbath, as we had not been at any place since we left home where we could improve to our satisfaction. Therefore we concluded to stay with the Harmonists, having procured lodging at their public house. Came about five miles.

July 13th. In the morning we prepared for meeting and went to their forenoon meeting. They had a very good meeting house and there were three or four hundred of the Harmonists¹ assembled. They were the whole, with the exception of ourselves and two or three others. The minister, by the name of Rapp,² delivered a discourse in the German tongue

² George Rapp was born in Wurttemberg in 1757. He was a vine dresser and farmer. He was a leader of Pietism (the German prototype of Puritanism). Being a man of unusual strength of character, it was not long before he felt the weight of religious persecution. His preaching brought him a following of three hundred families. His religious views dominated the Rappites as they had no written creed. Celibacy, industry, frugality were the dominating ideas of their material existence.

¹ The Harmonists were a religious sect, the members of which left Wurttemberg in 1803, owing to religious persecution. They settled in Pennsylvania, where by industry and frugality they established a happy community. However, their location was found to be unsuited for fruit cultivation, and their distance from navigation caused them to send Frederick Rapp, who was the adopted son of their leader, farthes West to find a more congenial place. In 1813, they followed him to Indiana, where they established their community on the Wabash River a few miles above its mouth. In 1824 the Harmonists sold out, for \$182,000.00, and returned to Pennsylvania. The purchaser was Robert Owen, of Scotland. It was thereafter called New Harmony. Here one of the world's most interesting experiments in socialism was

which we could not understand; they sang in the same language, and appeared very solemn and severe in their devotions. After meeting (half past 10 A. M.) we went to look at their fields, vineyards, etc.

July 14th. At about 3 A. M. the bell rang for duty and we prepared to start; got under way at half past 4 A. M., went up the river five or six miles, and took breakfast on the bank near a house or two. After breakfast we proceeded and in the course of the day took in some good water and passed up to an island. We wanted to run to the left of it, and got part of the way, where the bar across was so shoal that we thought best to run back and go around the island. In passing around we saw four or five wild turkeys on the island. They flew across to the right and were on the bank. Our company landed with guns, but got no chance of a shot at them. We proceeded on up the river until near 9 o'clock in the evening and took lodgings on the floor at a house on the bank. The current ran very swiftly. It was a hard day's work, though it is said we came but twenty miles, and we had the wind in our favor about three hours, and then a headwind. The banks of the river were not high and were subject to be overflowed in high water, except where we put up. We saw fine pieces of cane on the shore, some of which we took on board before night.

July 15th. We started in the morning and ran up five or six miles, took breakfast on the beach, then proceeded on up the river ten or twelve miles and took dinner on the bank, then went up the river until dark. Not finding a house, we went on shore, made fast, and lodged in the boat. I was very much troubled with the cramp in consequence of swimming in the course of the day. We came eighteen or twenty conducted. The socialistic organization broke up in 1827, and Robert Owen left in 1828.

miles and stayed within about two miles of Colkey Island,³ where there is some swift water.

July 16th. In the morning we ran up above the French settlement at Colkey Island and took breakfast on the shore. We had a fine mess of mussels for breakfast and then passed on up the river until we came to the mouth of the White River about 4 P. M. This river is between 100 and 200 yards wide at its mouth and the water appeared deep, but understanding it was hard going up, we continued to go on up the Wabash to Fort Wayne, if possible, or we might lose our boat. So we continued up the Wabash and soon came to the Grand Rapids, where the water ran very swiftly and the bottom was a slippery rock. We had to get out and wade to find the channel, and shove the boat up. We passed up after dark and put up for the night.

July 17th. Started up another rapid, where we got out, pushed the boat up, passed a little creek, and came to a small village called Palmyra,⁴ on the Illinois side, where we obtained some good water and two fish; went on a little farther and cooked dinner. I was quite unwell in consequence of taking cold by being in the water. Paul Dick was also unwell, and Thomas Isaac likewise. We went up to a place called Deckertown,* about three miles from Pal-

³ This appears to have been what is now known as Coffee Island, Gibson County. Historical Atlas of Indiana, 1876, p. 172. "During the years between 1800 and 1815 a few of the half-breed trappers from the post at Vincennes resorted to the streams and bayous of this section to set their beaver traps." History of Gibson County, by Gil R. Stormont, p. 382.

⁴ This town was the county seat of Edwards County, Illinois, on the Wabash River, twenty miles southwest of Vincennes. It proved so unhealthful that in 1821 the county seat was transferred to Albion.

* The present Deckertown, or Decker's Station, on White River, was laid out much later. The Decker family settled between that point and the Wabash, and the locality was evidently called Decker-town.

myra, and put up for the night. There was one poor house where we put up; there were one or two more houses not far off| We all took some Lee's pills.

July 8th. In the morning I was quite sick and the landlord was unwell. He invited me to go to see a small prairie not far off. I went with him. It was settled and cultivated; the land was very handsome and fertile. When we returned I gave him a good dose of thoroughwort tea, which operated well. We concluded to stay all day, and in the afternoon I was better. We stayed all night at the same house. The people were very kind. The landlord was much better.

July 19th. In the morning I felt quite feeble, though better. We took breakfast and started up the river. The landlord offered to pilot us up the Little Chain, which was near. The women and I went on shore until the boat came up, and then we passed up the river twelve or fourteen miles, went on shore, got some milk, made mush, and took dinner about 5 p. m. There was a hard shower, it looked like rain, and we concluded to put up for the night, but could get no lodging unless we stayed in an uninhabited house which was all-to-pieces, so we proceeded on up the river two or three miles, passed one strong rapid, and as the sky had the appearance of a heavy rain we went on a sand beach about sunset, covered our boat with our sails and prepared for night, there being no house within four or five miles on our way.

July 20th. All hands pretty comfortable. We went up two or three miles and ran onto the limb of a tree which was sharp and lay concealed under the water, so that I could not see it, and it made a break in the garboard strake* under the boat's starboard bow. We soon found she took in water, and ran on shore, found the leak, put in some calking, then went on two or three miles farther, took break-

* The garboard strake is the bottom plank next to the keel.

fast on the beach, then proceeded on in sight of Vincennes, hauled our boat on shore, mended the breach, cleaned our boat, loaded up, went up to the town, about one and one-half miles, where we arrived about 2 o'clock P. M. This is about 170 or 180 miles from the mouth of the Wabash. The river here is about 270 yards wide and not more than four feet deep. We saw horses ford the river one-half to three-quarters of a mile below the town, though the river is very low at the town. At our landing we excited the curiosity of the inhabitants, and there were many of them of all ranks who came down to the shore to know where we were from, and to admire our boat, which was different from any ever seen at this place. I soon became acquainted with some of the inhabitants, in particular Thomas Jones,⁵ who had been an Indian trader for twenty-eight or thirty years and had acquired a large fortune by the trade. He informed me that former Governor Posey and the present Governor Jennings⁶ were now in town. Governor Posey⁷ is the present agent for Indian affairs, therefore I thought it advisable to have an interview with them in the morning, so we entertained the curiosity of the inhabitants with the relation of our voyage, which appeared very interesting to them.

The following is a copy of the letter of introduction presented by Thomas Dean to Governor Jennings:

⁵ There was a Thomas Jones living in Vincennes who seems to have been quite prominent in a business way. He left for Pittsburg in 1813, and died in 1824.

⁶ Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of Indiana, was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, in 1784. He was elected the first governor of Indiana in August, 1816. He died July 26, 1834.

⁷ Thomas Posey was born in Virginia, July 9, 1750. On March 3, 1813, President Madison appointed him Governor of Indiana Territory. He was the last territorial governor. He died March 19, 1818.

To the Honourable Governor of the Indiana Territory and to the Agents of the several Tribes of Indians in said Territory.

Gentlemen:

Having been informed that a certain tribe of Indians residing near White River in your Territory have proposed to grant to the New Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, who now reside in the Counties of Oneida and Madison in New York State, a certain tract of land upon certain conditions,

We therefore, as Superintendents of the said New Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, beg leave to represent that they are now about to set out on a journey to that country to accomplish that business, and that they have agreed with Mr. Thomas Dean, an inhabitant of the County of Oneida, to accompany them and to be their agent to negotiate with said Indians, or their agents in your Territory, and as we are personally acquainted with Mr. Dean, we do not hesitate in recommending him as a suitable person for that purpose, and as a gentleman in whom you may place the greatest confidence.

Any assistance which you can afford him in transacting his business will be considered a singular favour and gratefully acknowledged by your humble servants.

ASABEL CURTISS DOOLITTLE,

JOSEPH STEBBINS,

Superintendents of Indian Affairs.

Paris, N. Y., 12 May, 1817.

July 21st. I took breakfast with Wheeler Mallett. He and his brother Baldwin were unwell. I then went to see the agent of Indian affairs. I gave him my credentials and explained to him our expectations and wishes. He appeared to be very friendly, and said he would aid us; that I had better consult Governor Jennings on the subject, though he

had no control of Indian affairs, or of the public lands. We went to see the Governor, but he was three miles out of town, and it rained very hard. We gave over seeing him until the next morning, as we were told by the receiver of public money, with whom he resided, that he would be in town in the morning. I became acquainted with Doctor Lawrence S. Shuler,⁸ who had been on board our boat yesterday. He took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication. We conversed on the subject of civilization and internal navigation; he proposed making some remarks on both those subjects in his publication. He is a very sociable gentleman and introduced me to Samuel Dilworth,⁹ printer, at Vincennes, of the *Indiana Centinel*. I left with Samuel Dilworth the copy of Joseph Hull's *Spelling Book* for examination. We had a rainy day until night; put up at the same place, John Longe's Inn. I saw several people from the State of New York, who were glad to meet us, and we them. Met Mr. Brown, son of Oliver Brown of York State.

July 22d. We went to see the Governor at the receiver's office. He was there, but it being an improper place for a conference, it was proposed to meet at the inn at 11 o'clock A. M. We then proceeded to Governor Posey's, according to appointment, which was at 10 o'clock. We met him and found him an agreeable old gentleman, as I before thought him to be. We had some conversation on our subject, but the interpreter, Barron,¹⁰ did not bring the chiefs and people

⁸ See Appendix B.

⁹ Samuel Dilworth established the *Indiana Centinel* at Vincennes, March 14, 1817. He was editor at that time. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. New Series, Vol. 23, 1913. In the *Western Sun* of Dec. 28, 1822, there appeared an advertisement announcing the publication of a book published by Samuel Dilworth, "*The Military Instructor and Military Manual*."

¹⁰ Joseph Barron, whose remains lie in an unmarked grave, was a

of the Weas, as was expected, so we returned and met the Governor of the State according to appointment. He is a talking man, and I think no great friend of Indians. We explained our business to him. He in a very pleasant way raised many obstacles. The first was that no person had a right by law to contract with Indians for lands. I answered him that I knew of no law to prohibit one nation of Indians from treating with another for the possession of their lands, which was agreed to by his excellency. Second objection was that the United States wanted to purchase a large tract of land north and east of the purchase of 1809, so as to extend it quite across the State of Indiana to the State of Ohio, that the strength of the State of Indiana might be concentrated and the public safety rendered more secure by extending the whole population throughout the interior of the State. It was answered by me that the small piece of land, say 20,000 acres, could bear but a small balance in discomposing the forces of the State, but would perhaps supply it with as good inhabitants as though it were purchased by the United States and sold by the government, or as good inhabitants as were now in possession of the land heretofore purchased, and now settled with those who call themselves white people; which was admitted by the Governor. The third objection was that the United States Government had granted two miles square to the State of Indiana on some of the unpurchased land for a site for the seat of government, and we might choose that place and then Congress would not acknowledge the conveyance. I replied that if we chose a place suitable for the seat of government we would give the State the two miles square out of the land we agreed for. He said that would deprive the United

French Canadian, born in Detroit, January, 1773, and died in Cass County, December 12, 1843. He settled in Vincennes in 1790, moved to Logansport in 1827. He was an old Indian interpreter for General Harrison in the War of 1812, and was at the battle of Tippecanoe.

States of the profits of the sale of the quantity of lands we possessed around the seat of government, but if we would take land at the head of the Wabash, he said, he thought there would be no objection. We replied that we were not partial to the White River or any other place provided the lands were good and well watered. After some further conversation our conference broke up.

We parted and went to our quarters, and understod that Governor Posey had sent the interpreter, Barron, to our lodgings, wishing us to go to his quarters. We went and met the agent and the two Wea chiefs, with five or six of their men, and presently the interpreter came in, and we communicated to them through the interpreter our wishes, that we had come to make them a visit, and run the chain of friendship between us, and that if it was pleasing to them and their people we wished to come to reside in this country, and we would wish to meet them and the rest of their brothers with our brothers, the Delawares, Miamis, Eel River and Mississinewas, at White River or some place that they would appoint to have a council, and we would go and visit the Delawares and other tribes and meet them. The agent replied that he and the interpreter would be at Fort Harrison in two or three weeks with the goods for the Indians' annuity, and that would be the most proper place; to which the Indians agreed, and it was therefore agreed we should meet them at Fort Harrison in twenty-five days from that time, and that we would go and visit the Delawares and give them notice of the council. Then the chiefs replied that they were glad to see their brothers, the Wapenocas, and said they always liked to shake hands with them, and that they would be glad to meet their grandfathers, the Delawares, in council with us, and that we must go and fetch them to the council. They would think that it was not good, or that their grandfathers were not pleased with it

(*as we had told them we had sent four men to visit them six or seven years before, and of the report that they brought back). We replied that we could not promise that the Delawares would attend, but we thought they would. They said they could do nothing without them, if they did not come. So we shook hands and wished each other well until we met at Fort Harrison, and so parted. We returned and made some preparations for starting up the river, and I wrote home while at Wheeler Mallett's, he not being much better or his brother either.

While going to the postoffice to put the letter in, Governor Posey saw Thomas Isaac and me going by. We had some conversation on Governor Jennings' sentiments as to our business, and he wished that his communication might be kept confidential, what had passed between us heretofore, as it relates to our business with the Governor. We parted; he went to our boat, we to the postoffice. We then returned to take our departure from Vincennes. When we arrived at the boat the Indian agent was there, and the goods for the Indians had arrived which were going on to Fort Harrison, but he said he would not give notice of a distribution until about the time of our treaty.

* The remark in parenthesis refers to a treaty made with the Delaware and Miami tribes in 1809. A petition of the Brothertown Indians drawn up by Thomas Dean, and presented to President Andrew Jackson in the year 1829, contains the following statement:

"In the year 1809 your petitioners (the Brothertown Indians) sent a delegation to the Delawares and Miamis, in the then Territory of Indiana, who made an agreement for a tract of land on White River, in the State of Indiana, in the most solemn manner, agreeable to the ancient custom of the Indians, but before your memorialists could remove onto their newly acquired lands the Government of the United States purchased the whole country of the Miamis and Delaware Indians, by which your petitioners lost their lands and all that they had expended in acquiring them."

PART VII

VOYAGE FROM VINCENNES TO FORT HAQQISON.

We parted and left Vincennes about 5 P. M., ran up the river and stopped at Fort Knox;¹¹ got water, but it was not very good. This is about three miles, and we went on until dark; encamped in our boat on the Indiana shore near a small brook, there not being a house near shore.

July 23d. Started in the morning and ran up until we came to a house on Ellison Prairie, which is on the Illinois side and is twelve miles long and seven or eight wide. We obtained some milk, made mush, took breakfast on the bank, the house not being near the river, then we passed on around a point and came to the prairie again. We went on shore and viewed it. It is a very handsome piece of land and settled in some places. We went around another bend and came to it again at ——— Ferry, where we went on shore to get some good water, potatoes, etc. They had some noodles. We took some bread and butter; went on until night, when we were about to camp on the beach, but by blowing the horn we found a house by the barking dogs (which abound in this country) about one-half mile from shore. Here we secured the liberty of lying on the floor, and some milk; supped on bread and milk. We lodged on the floor with satisfaction. R. Fowler and P. Dick were comfortably lodged in the boat. We stayed about three miles

¹¹ A fort was established by the French at Vincennes early in the eighteenth century. Upon passing into the hands of the British, it was renamed Fort Sackville. George Rogers Clark marched from Kaskaskia, and captured it (1779), changing the name to Fort Patrick Henry. In 1787, Major Hamtranck was stationed there with a detachment of infantry and its name was once more changed to Fort Knox in honor of the first secretary of war. Estwick Evans, *A Pedestrian Tour*.

below the Shaker¹² settlement, and it was said thirty miles from Vincennes. I paid four shillings.

July 24th. We went up the river about three miles until we came to McCarter's Ferry. Went on shore to the settlement of Shakers, which is called the Busero Prairie, which is about four miles wide, seven or eight miles long, and I did not understand the width, but it appeared to be extensive. The Shakers have about 1,500 acres of land here and several other lots in other places, some in the State of Illinois, where they expect to build mills on the Embarrass Creek, which flows in below Vincennes. We wanted to get some flour and other provisions which we could not get at so good advantage at any other places. The flour could not be ground until near night, and they bid us welcome to stay with them, so we concluded to put up for the day and night. It was now about 3 P. M. There were some of the principal men who came to the boat and went out in the river with us to see how our boat would run; then some of us went up with them, leaving R. Fowler and P. Dick to keep ship. We viewed their plantations more fully, their gardens and orchards, which appeared to be well cultivated, all in proper order. They were getting in their wheat, which was good. I saw some which they assured me did weigh seventy-three and one-half pounds to the bushel, and I spoke for some to bring with me, but did not think of it again when I came on board. We were conducted to a house where we were to lodge, and entertained with a great deal of apparent disinterested friendship.

We attended their evening service, where they sang a hymn, then sang and danced two or three times, broke up,

¹² The Shaker settlement on Busseron Creek (commonly pronounced and spelled Busero) was one of the earliest in Sullivan County. For details, see *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 75; *Life of Richard McNemar*, pp. 27-9; *The Shakers and Their Homes*, Robinson, pp. 74-6.

and we repaired to our quarters. We were called to another house across the street to sup, where everything appeared to be kept in good order by the women. We supped and retired to good lodgings in the apartment allotted to us, they having ground our flour and sent it on board the boat at evening.

They spoke of many losses and hardships they have had in consequence of the war, and that they thought Tecumseh and the Prophet had been very much misrepresented, they and their people appeared to be peaceable people, and that they were in his opinion Christian Indians, opposed to war, and he thought it was an unguarded expression of General Harrison to one of the Pottawottomi chiefs by the name of Winemack that caused the battle of Tippecanoe. The Prophet Oala-la-wissa and his adherents did not join in the battle, but the Prophet withdrew across the river; that there were not more than 250 men engaged in the battle out of 800 which had assembled at the Prophet's town for the purpose of information, or of religious devotion; that they were well acquainted with the Prophet and believed him to be a peaceable and a good man.

July 25th. In the morning the trumpet was blown for exercise about 4 A. M. and each family (four in all) repaired to their different places for labor, which was short, and then they went to their business. They conversed freely on the subjects that we introduced. After finding that we wanted to purchase some sole leather they ascertained the quantity we wanted, gave us a piece, for which they would take no pay, which was as much as we wanted, viz.: four or five pounds, besides some garden sauce, in the whole to the amount of \$5 worth. We took our leave of them at the mill and proceeded to the river. Two or three of them followed us and spent some time with us at the river. I gave them some pamphlets to distribute at discussions. We parted with them with gratitude and respect, went on up

the river, stopped at a Frenchman's house, fifteen or sixteen miles, where we put up, some on the floor and some in the boat. We got some milk and took supper.

July 26th. Started and took breakfast five or six miles upstream. Obtained some milk on a high bluff of rocks or sandstone and had a view of Lamott's Prairie, where we went on shore two or three times to see the country. It appeared to be delightful. We continued seventeen or eighteen miles and then we took dinner. Some went to the house, and some were in the boat. We had some buttermilk to drink and waited till the rain was over, when we went on five or six miles, went on shore, put up for the night and lodged in the boat five or six miles below the Union Prairie. We came about twenty miles.

July 27th. We started and went up to Union Prairie. They have just laid out a town on the bank of the river and so far back into the prairie that the banks are high and pleasantly situated. The village is to be called York.¹⁸ There are several New York people in the neighborhood, one by the name of Richardson, who is a proprietor of the village. We came up the river twelve or fifteen miles and encamped on the river bank near a house, where we got milk, but we lodged on board.

July 28th. Obtained more milk, took breakfast, and went on up the river. We saw some very large fish, but could not spear them. I threw the spear at one small pickerel and killed it. It would weigh two or three pounds. Saw many wild geese and some turkeys. Went seven or eight miles, stopped at a ferry, and secured some milk and potatoes. Started about noon, went up ten or twelve miles, and put

¹⁸ "This town has lately been laid out on an elegant bluff situated on West Fraction No. 4, Township 8, North Range 11 West, on the West bank of the Wabash River, adjoining the Union Prairie." Quoted from an advertisement in the Western Sun of February 8, 1817. The proprietors of the town were John F. Richardson and Israel Harris.

up on the beach four or five miles above Prairie Creek Prairie, where we went on shore. It is a very handsome place. We saw very large flocks of geese. Paul Dick shot at some and R. Fowler shot one flying, but got none.

July 29th. We went up the river four or five miles, went on shore, and ate breakfast. I went back about a mile into the woods and found a house on the Honey Creek Prairie, and procured some cucumbers. After breakfast we passed on eight or nine miles and came to a place called Terre Haute,¹⁴ where there is a village laid out. We stopped a few moments and went on. There was a hard shower and a hurricane. We went on the bank and waited till it was over and then went up to Fort Harrison,¹⁵ where we arrived about 7 p. m. This is about twenty miles that we came today and about 140 miles from Vincennes. We put up at John A. Lafond's,* who had no family, but kept house and a little store.

PART VIII

JOURNEY FROM FORT HARRISON TO THE WHITE RIVER COUNTRY AND RETURN

July 31. We prepared by washing our clothes, baking bread for our journey, and storing our goods. The women

¹⁴ Terre Haute settlers came in the Fall of 1816. The town was laid out in the same year. Historical Atlas of Indiana, 1876, pp. 260-261; The Terre Haute Company, by A. R. Markle, in *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, June, 1916.

¹⁵ Fort Harrison was established by Governor Harrison in October, 1811. The fort covered about an acre of ground and stood on a bluff two miles up the river from the old Wea Village and thirty or forty feet above the water's edge.

* Very little is known of John A. Lafond. The Vigo Circuit Court records show that Hyacinthe Lasselle brought suit for \$200 against him in February, 1819, and dismissed the action three months later.

finished washing the clothes that were not washed yesterday, and we began to unload our goods and stored them at John A. Lafond's, where we put up. Major Chunn¹⁶ offered to put our boat under the care of the guard at the fort, that it should not be injured or taken away.

We had our goods all stored, made a chain, fastened our boat near the fort to a stump, put the oars, poles, etc., into the blockhouse, and prepared to start, but we could not get ready until it was too late in the afternoon. The Indian who was going to wade Eel River and pilot us agreed to wait until morning, so we made preparations to start early in the morning. In the evening John A. Lafond and another man informed me that we had best not start too early, as an Indian had told them that twenty or thirty of the Pottawottomis had come from Chicago, were hostile, and if they came across us they might injure us. We thought it was a false report and concluded to start as soon as we could.

August 1st. We put up what clothes we wanted to take with us and some bread. They told us we could go through in three days if we had horses, it being one hundred miles, so we concluded to take three days' provisions and get horses if we could, but it happened that there was not more than one pound of meat put up. We took three guns and an ax, started about 10 A. M., and our guide went on with us. The weather was very warm, and we had to go through the prairie, about seventy-two miles, which was very hot and uncomfortable. We could get no water to drink until we went about thirteen miles, where there was good water and a family lived. Here they

¹⁶ Major John T. Chunn was commandant of Fort Harrison from 1816 to 1819, when he was transferred to Detroit. He was again in command of Fort Harrison in 1821, until it was dismantled by order of the government in 1822. He died in 1847 at Terre Haute, Ind. *History of Vigo County, Indiana*, by H. C. Bradsby; see also *Fort Harrison, on the Banks of the Wabash* (Centennial pamphlet, p. 27).

gave us some milk to drink. After we had refreshed ourselves we left two guns and proceeded on. We traveled very fast until we came to Raccoon Creek, a large stream that runs into the Wabash twelve or fifteen miles above the fort. It was deep. Our guide went across and got a bark in the form of a canoe, took packs across, and Jacob Dick rode his horse across; the others waded. It was near up to their arms. I got some wet, as well as the rest, and it was very warm. We went on in our little path through the woods up the creek three or four miles, made a fire, and lay on the ground. Being very sweaty, and having no shelter, I took cold. We ate a piece of meat and laid down.

August 2d. We took a piece of bread and a small piece of meat for breakfast. It thundered, and as we went on in the little path it soon began to rain. I was very sore and stiff, so that I could hardly travel. It rained very hard, which made it worse going, and being wet with sweat all night, and now wet with rain, I was very uncomfortable. We went on some miles and stopped under the trees to rest, then went on again until fatigued, then stopped and made a shelter of bark and built a fire. Our guide would not wait for us, so we let him go on. It was so bad going through weeds and brush that we stayed about one hour until it stopped raining, went on through mud and water some miles, and then came another shower. We reached a shelter of bark, made a fire, and stayed until the rain was over. As we went on we met an Indian man, woman, and boy, with two horses, going to the fort with skins, etc. We traveled until near night, made a shelter and fire, and camped for the night. We had a good fire, took a small piece of meat and a piece of bread, and obtained what rest we could to meet the fatigues of another day.

August 3d. In the morning we refreshed ourselves with some bread and water and started on our journey, it being the first day of the week. We followed our little path,

crossed Raccoon Creek and its branches two or three times, and expected soon to come to the Wea village. About 12 o'clock we came to three or four bark cabins of the Weas, where our guide lived with his relations. None of them could speak English. They brought us about a quart of boiled corn, which we soon made way with. We tried to get a horse, but they made signs that we must stay there that night, for we could not get through the village. I did not feel like traveling much farther on foot that day, and towards night one of the family who could speak some English arrived. He said we could have a horse to go through to the village next day for \$2, and some one would go with us. They gave us some blackberries to eat and at night they sweetened some for us, and showed us some barks we could lay on in a cabin by ourselves. We lay on a kind of stage, with barks on, with our own blankets to cover. As near as we could tell we were about sixty miles from the fort.

August 4th. This morning it thundered and there was a hard shower of rain and some hail. It soon cleared off, and they gave us about three pints of boiled corn, which we ate. We had but two spoons to use among five of us at this place. The women boiled some dried venison for us. We could only get one horse. My companions went forward and left me to follow. When we started, which was about 8 o'clock, the old man went on foot to ride my horse back, and his son, the one that came from the fort with us, rode with me and took part of our baggage. We traveled hard through the woods, brush, weeds, etc., in a small path, it being very muddy and in some places swampy for many miles. We overtook the old man, and then my company. They went very fast, sometimes on the run. We startled many turkeys in our way, one of which Fowler killed with his staff, having left the other gun and the ax where we stayed, but we took a hatchet. Jacob Dick took a turn on horseback. I went on foot awhile

to rest him. We continued traveling rapidly until we came to the village,¹⁷ about 5 P. M. The village is on a prairie containing thirty or forty houses in different places. I had a letter of introduction from Lt. Lafond to the French trader at the village. He invited us to his cabin to lodge. The man who rode with me shot a young deer as we rode along. We had some of it cooked for our supper. There were many Indians who came to see us where we put up, and we engaged two horses to go to White River, one for me and one for Jacob. We came about thirty-five or forty miles this day.

August 5th. We took breakfast early this morning. Thomas, Paul, and R. Fowler started on foot and left Jacob and me to come with the horses and bring the packs. We had to give \$1.50 for each horse. We started about 9 A. M., in company with four or five Indians, men and women, and passed the woods as fast as we could. The path was bad, over a swamp or muddy ground. We traveled all day as hard as we could, but did not overtake the rest of our company. We startled many turkeys. We camped on the ground at night, made a fire near the other and lay by it, and there came up a man and woman, who camped a little way off. They brought us about a pint of sweetened hoecake, which was very good, have nothing to eat since morning. We ate that, drank water and laid down for sleep. At dark a young Indian came up to our camp, who was going to take my horse back. He had killed a young raccoon as big as a cat. They burned the

¹⁷ From the routes followed in coming and going, it appears certain that the village referred to was the one at the site of Thorntown, in Boone County. In his entry of August 10, Mr. Dean calls it "Coezeton," and on September 9, "Coezeketon." He also speaks of it as a "Weaw village." What was commonly known as "the Wea Village" was about eight miles north of Thorntown, and does not answer to the descriptions. Mr. J. P. Dunn says that the Weas called the Thorntown village *Ka-win-ja-ki-un-gi*, the ending *un-gi* being a locative, equivalent to the English "ton." The meaning is Place of Thorn Trees, or Honey Locusts. He regards *Co-e-se-ke-ton* as a corruption or dialect form of this name.

hair off of it, then boiled it without salt and gave us some, which we were glad to eat. We then tried to get some sleep under the trees, so that we had not much dew on us, but many fleas.

August 6th. They brought us a little piece of raccoon and some other food which we thought was made of roots, which answered as bread, but I was not fond of it. We went on rapidly until we got through. Traveling along, the Indian who killed the raccoon walked before me and shot a turkey that would weigh fifteen or twenty pounds. We left the settlement about 10 A. M., gave up our horses, and understood that my other three companions had crossed White River. We therefore took the packs, rode through the river and went to the house of William Conner,¹⁸ a French trader, whom I

¹⁸ William Connor. "All the preliminaries being now arranged, the legislature, which represented the Southern end of the state, and which was in no hurry for the actual removal of the capital, passed an act on January 11, 1820, appointing ten commissioners to locate the capital. The men named by the law were George Hunt, of Wayne County; John Connor, of Fayette; Stephen Ludlow, of Dearborn; John Gilliland, of Switzerland; Joseph Bartholomew, of Clarke; John Tipton, of Harrison; Jesse B. Durham, of Jackson; Frederick Rapp, of Posey; William Prince, of Gibson, and Thomas Emmerson, of Knox. They were all men of prominence in their several communities and all except William Prince accepted the appointment and served. By the law they were required to meet at the house of William Connor, on the West Fork of White River, on a day to be named in the proclamation (it was May 22), 'and proceed to select a site which, in their opinion, shall be most eligible and advantageous for the permanent seat of government of Indiana.' The house of William Connor was at what was known as Conner's Station, on Conner's Prairie, some four miles below Noblesville. William Conner and his brother John, who founded Connersville, had been captured by the Indians when children, and had been brought up by them. William Conner served as an interpreter and as Indian agent for a number of years, and had established his trading station at this point in 1802." Obituary sketch in *Indianapolis Journal*, August 22, 1855. From J. P. Dunn's *History of Greater Indianapolis*, p. 4.

found had gone to Philadelphia. His partner, William Marshall, had gone to Muncie, a town twenty-five miles up the river. The women could not speak English, but we found they had gone down the river. We went down across the prairie about a mile, crossed the river and went about four miles to a settlement of the Delaware Indians, carried our packs, and then met them at the lower village. They gave us some bread and milk to eat. We invited them to go to Fort Harrison to the council, but they did not agree to go. We returned, crossed the river, and went to Conner's to get a horse to the upper town, but got none. Joe, Paul, and Rudolphus started on foot about half past 5 P. M.; the rest concluded to stay, and soon after William Marshall came home. He said we could not get any of the Delawares to go to Fort Harrison, they were all going to Fort Meigs to a treaty there the 15th of September, so we concluded to go up in the morning. Marshall would furnish me with a horse to ride.

It is about forty or forty-five miles from the Weas to the White River, making about 140 miles from Fort Harrison to White River, and five down and five up makes ten miles.

August 7th. We took breakfast, hired a horse, and proceeded on up to the other town. We reached the settlement about 10 o'clock P. M., obtained some bread and buttermilk, then went on toward the principal Indian village and met Paul Dick with horse going for us. He said the council must be held at the village where Anderson ¹⁹ lived. We went up and met several at his house, was appointed a council on the morrow, We were furnished with supper, which consisted of bread and herb tea made sweet, with which we refreshed ourselves. There was a very heavy shower of rain, with hail and thunder, and a violent tempest, so that it was

¹⁹ William Anderson was the head-chief of the Indiana Delawares. Dunn, *True Indian Stories*.

near blowing some of the cabins down. We put up at the house of the principal chief. It was as good as any in the village, and he a plain, majestic looking man, sixty or sixty-five years old. Paul and F. Fowler were directed to another house to lodge, and the rest of us lodged at the chief's. I had the most comfortable place. It was some boards or staves put on benches, and bullrushes laid on them, and a small pillow, though it was wet in the shower.

August 8th. We got together in the morning and were served with some boiled corn and venison for breakfast. After breakfast the people began to come in, and we were soon served with another dish of squashes, made sweet with sugar, and some bread, which we partook of. After the chiefs and councilmen and principal men of the nation came in they informed us that they were ready to hear what we had to say. I spoke to them as I have written in the appendix, and the reply of Anderson (Keklawhenund), the principal chief, as it is there noted.

There were twenty or thirty Indians who attended the council, which lasted about four hours. We went to look for the horse that I rode, but did not see it. We mentioned that we wanted some provisions to take on our journey, and we were informed that they would be brought in the morning, so we put up for the night, myself, T. Isaac, and T. Dick at the chief's, P. Dick and R. Fowler at another house.

August 9th. Our provisions soon came in. They were hoecake and Indian bread. We received two or three pairs of moccasins. Thomas Isaac found the horse and after breakfast we took our leave, went down to the Nanticoke village (Nancy-town),²⁰ obtained some buttermilk, Indian wampum, and

²⁰ Nancy-town-common name of Delaware village on White River about nine miles west of Anderson. It was also known as Nantico, but properly as Nantikoke, being named for James Nantikoke, who lived there. Nantikoke is the name of one of the Delaware sub-tribes, and

butter from a woman by the name of Nancy, and then started for William Conner's. In the afternoon it rained very hard and we were very wet. We came down to Conner's about 5 o'clock and prepared to start in the morning for Fort Harrison, to be at the treaty there. We endeavored to get a horse or two, but could not, so we prepared to start on foot early in the morning.

August 10th. Took our breakfast early in the morning and obtained some dried beef to take with us. Settled with William Marshall for the use of his horse and what we had. Paid him \$3. We shouldered our packs, waded White River, traveled hard all day, and at dark were within about three miles of Cozeton or the Weaw village.²¹ I was very much fatigued, as were some of the rest. We traveled about forty-two miles this day in very bad walking. We lay down in our blankets amongst the weeds within fire.

August 11th. Were up by the time we could see, and arrived at Longley's by sunrise or nearly, took breakfast, started on for the settlement on Raccoon Creek, where we arrived about 5 p. m., had supper of venison and lay down early to rest.

August 12th. In the morning we paid \$1 for what we had received, started early, traveled as far as we could, and in the afternoon it rained some. We stopped under a shelter for about two hours, then went on. The weeds and bushes were very wet, so that we were very wet ourselves. We put up at dark near the ford on Raccoon Creek.

(There is a break in the journal of eight days. This part of the journal would have contained an account of the conference with the Indiana Indians regarding the sale of land to the Brothertown Indians. The Delaware Indians according to Brinton means 'tide-water people', referring to their ancient residence between Chesapeake Bay and the ocean. Dunn, *True Indian Stories*.

²¹ See Note under August 4.

having refused to join the council, it was quite evident in advance that nothing definite could be attained.

In 1822 Thomas Dean made a treaty with the Wisconsin Indians by which the necessary amount of lands were secured near Green Bay, Wis., to which the Brothertown Indians of New York were transferred. They now live on their land on the east shore of Lake Winnebago.

J. C. D.)

PART IX.

VOYAGE FROM FORT HARRISON TO THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSNEWA RIVER AND RETURN.

August 20th, 1819. We sold some of our axes, settled our bills, prepared to start, and settled with Jacob Dick. Paid him \$25.06 toward helping him to defray the expense of the treaty, and I made Sarah (his wife) some other presents. We started at about 4 P. M. and Truman Ford went with us to Brouillet's Creek. At dark we all lay in the boat until morning. It is eight or nine miles from the fort.

August 21. Ford gave me some ore to have tested. We started early in the morning, went up the river as fast as we could. There were four or five canoes, containing about twenty-two Indians, in sight. They were still in sight in the afternoon. At night we put up on a bank and the canoes all passed us. We supposed that we came about twenty-five miles this day. We lodged in the boat.

August 22d. We started early in the morning, went up the river, and about 12 o'clock came to a coal bank. Went to examine it; found the different courses to be about sixteen or eighteen feet deep and of a long extent. We took some of the coal to carry home, but we had it from the surface and with it some kind of ore, etc. In going on we passed the Indians that had passed us the night before. Went up the river until night, we supposed about twenty-three

miles. It thundered and looked as if it would rain. We covered our boat and prepared for night to lodge on board, and it soon began to rain. The mosquitoes were so very troublesome that we could not even rest, much less sleep, and it rained all night very hard, with much thunder and lightning. The Indians in the canoes were on a beach, drinking. We passed them about noon and some came on after us, but we saw them no more.

August 23d. As we could not sleep, and being wet, we started as soon as it was light, went on up the river, past some very handsome prairies and bluffs, one of which we went onto in the morning. It was high land and thin timbered. We passed several small streams and creeks and we went, we supposed, twenty-three or twenty-four miles. Went on shore for the night, lodged on board. It was clear and very cool.

August 24th. Went up the river and on our way came to a settlement of Indians near a prairie which we supposed was Tippecanoe. We obtained some soft corn from them to boil and gave them salt, then went on. In the afternoon we came to a high, rocky bluff and went up onto it. It was sand rock. We could see a great way and over large prairie ground. We went on until we came to the prairie. Went up on the bank, but the weeds were so high that it was difficult to see the grassy path of the prairie, and we went on until we stopped for the night. Then we passed through the weeds, which are seven or eight feet high and very thick, until we came to the grass, which was fifty or sixty rods. We went out a half mile on the rise of ground, but could not see to the farther side of the prairie. It is on the east side of the river. Lodged in the boat. The weather was cool. We suppose that we came twenty-three or twenty-four miles.

August 25th. We went on up the river and passed some prairie, and in the afternoon came to one on the west side;

saw a large piece of high land near the prairie that had been cleared off, and it appeared as if it had been settled, which I suppose was Tippecanoe. We continued until after dark and put up on a beach at the mouth of a large creek, which is the Tippecanoe branch or West Branch. I suppose we came twenty miles.

August 26th. We started early in the morning, and, passing on, saw some wild turkeys on the trees. We shot two; they were young and made us a fine breakfast. We now came to rocky shores and soon came to a prairie on the west side where some Indians lived, by swift and shoal water. We supposed that it was Mississinewa. We spoke with some, but could not understand them much, but they signified that it was farther up the river. It looked like a fine prairie. We went on, but soon found that our trouble was beginning, for the water grew shallow very fast and the current stronger. We passed some very swift water, but it was deep enough for our boat. We passed two islands opposite one another and went between them. It being near night, went on a little farther and put up on a small willow island. Lodged on board, as it is the most comfortable place in this wild place. We came today sixteen or eighteen miles.

August 27th. We started in the early morning and about 8 o'clock came to an Indian village. They hailed us to come on shore and wanted whiskey. We informed them we had none for them. They wanted tobacco, which we gave them. We let them have some powder and salt. We received corn to boil, and some deer skins. We did not want to part with our salt, but they insisted on having it, and we let them have one pint of salt for one skin. They wanted to trade more than that, but we told them we could not, and started to go, but a woman brought three muskrat skins for a pint of salt. We then put out and were called on the other shore by some on the bank who wanted whiskey, tobacco, salt etc. We gave

them some and went on, and were called again, but we didn't stop, but continued up the river one or two miles and took breakfast. Two Indians followed us with two deer skins and wanted whiskey, tobacco or powder, but we told them we could not trade. We had nothing with which to pay for them and did not want them. They saw our fish spear and wanted that, so I let them have one spear, some salt, and a little tobacco. We went on our way, and after going two or three miles through swift water, came to a rocky shoal where the river was very wide, the bottom a rock, so that the water was not more than six or eight inches deep, and in many places not more than three or four inches. We took out our baggage, carried it 200 or 300 yards on our shoulders, drew up our boat, and loaded in our goods. Were about four hours in going about half a mile. Continued on our rocky bottom and shallow water four or five miles until night. We came to strong rapids and falls. The water falls three or four feet in about fifteen rods. We examined the passage and arranged to put up for the night, deciding not to attempt to go up until morning. An Indian went up with his canoe on the west shore around the bend. He towed his canoe. There was not water enough for our boat. We came about ten miles this day and lay on the west side of the river.

August 28th. We unloaded our boat early in the morning, carried our baggage seventy or eighty rods up the west shore, then crossed over to the east shore, towed the boat up the rapids, crossed over, took in our things, proceeded up over a rocky bottom and much shoal water that we often had to be out to lift and shove her up fifty or 100 rods in a place. Our passage was thus very slow and tedious, but we found the channel without much difficulty, where there was any, but the river was wide. It spread over a wide, flat rock. About half past 3 p. m., we came to the forks of the rivers, which we supposed were the Mississinewa and

Wabash. One came in from the north and the other from the northeast. The latter we thought was the Mississinewa, but it contained more water than the other, which was different from the information we had received. Paul Dick went up the north branch and R. Fowler the other. When R. Fowler returned he said he thought we could not go up that branch, if it was the Wabash. Paul returned and said that the northeast branch was impassable, that the water was very shallow, there were falls in it of two or three feet perpendicular. It began to grow dark, looked like rain; we concluded to fall down the river sixty or seventy rods to an old shelter that was made by the Indians for hunting, and left by them, where we put up for the night. R. Fowler, Paul Dick, and I lodged on shore under the shelter. We made a little fire. We came about five or six miles this day.

August 29th. This morning I awoke at about 2 o'clock and put out the fire, laid down again, went to sleep. I had a remarkable dream which agitated me very much. It brought to me the situation of my family, and the state of my affairs in which I left them. The imprudence of leaving home on such a journey without first settling all of my affairs; that they would lose greatly in case of my never returning to them again. The contents of my dream agitated me so that I could not eat much breakfast. I may write it down when I have more leisure, but I must note our situation this morning. Paul and R. Fowler again went out up the northeast branch, along an old path, to find a settlement of Indians, or to see if we could go up the river. They returned and said that they thought our passage up at an end; if we went any farther we would lose the boat and all the baggage we could not carry. We held a council to decide whether we should risk the sacrifice or return to Fort Harrison and there dispose of what we could, and then go by land. Thomas Isaac was in favor of going up the river

as far as we could, and try the experiment. The rest were for returning. Betsy Isaac was unwell with the ague and fever, quite feeble, and it was difficult to provide a passage for her. Thomas started to examine the northeast branch after breakfast and returned about 1 o'clock P. M. and said that he went up the east branch about eight miles and thought that we could not get up. We then concluded to return to Fort Harrison, sell our boat and what baggage we could not carry on our backs, go across the country through the woods. We took some bread and sassafras tea, the only food we had that we could eat. Our pork was spoiled so that we could not eat it, but I made a comfortable repast; then we started about 2 P. M. down the river. The water in the river was falling, although it appeared low, we had frequently to get out and lift the boat along over the shoal places, but we got along without much difficulty and passed the falls or rapids by leading the boat. This is what I called the Wapanoke Dread, and we ran down to within three-quarters of a mile of the Wapanoke, where there are shoal rocky rapids and there we made our boat fast on shore, and laid down to rest, it being a fine, pleasant evening.

August 30th. Early in the morning we went down the rapids without much difficulty by passing behind a small island, clearing away the rocks, lifting and shoving the boat along, and we came down to the settlement of the Indians before mentioned when going up. They are the Pottawottomis, and we got a large piece of venison, some corn, a few beans, and let them have some more salt. We traded a little salt for five muskrat skins, and then went on down. The water had fallen so that we had to wade and shove our boat at places that were clear when we went up. We went down two or three miles, then stopped to cook our corn and venison and take breakfast.

R. Fowler complained of being chilly and unwell. He took breakfast then we proceeded down the river not without some difficulty. The water was much lower than when we went up. We pushed on as fast as we could and R. Fowler grew worse, so that by 1 o'clock he lay down. He had a most violent pain in his head and back, and I thought some symptoms of fever approaching, but we were in a poor situation to administer proper medicine. He could take no food of any kind. We continued on until dark with the expectation of getting to the place where we stopped when we went up, but could not, so went on shore, made some tea of thoroughwort or boneset, and gave him a strong draught. Then I gave him some Lee pills and we prepared for rest on board.

August 31st. This morning up by day, and found R. Fowler more comfortable, though very poorly. He rested but poorly. I could often hear him groan in the night, and I was fearful that a fever would ensue. I proposed giving him an emetic, but he declined for fear of the cramp, which he said he was subject to at such times. He could take no food. We made him tea of summer savory, the only palatable herb we had on board. We baked some cakes and took breakfast on the river floating down. We continued to sail down until after noon, when R. Fowler became so sick that we went on shore at the Great Prairie, where we put up on the night of the 24th. We made him some thoroughwort tea. He drank a good dose of it, and it worked well. Then we went on until night, put up by the shore, and boiled some rice for Fowler. Betsy Isaac was also sick.

September 1st. This morning R. Fowler was some better. We started about sunrise and went down a few miles below where we stayed on the night of the 23d, went on shore, ate breakfast, and Fowler ate some of his rice. We continued down the river as fast as we could when Fowler began to

grow worse, and in the afternoon he was in extreme pain in his head and back. I would have given him a dose of medicine, but he declined taking any; but now he was willing to take one of ipecac, but his stomach was so empty that I thought it improper unless we had something to nourish him after it had operated. We were destitute of provisions, being nearly out, except flour and some potatoes. His distress increased so toward night we had to stop before sundown; warmed some water and soaked his feet, made him some tea of the root of sassafras, and gave him a drink. We had one onion on board. I applied that to his feet as a draft. We stayed here until morning, it being some distance below where we stayed on the night of the 22d when going up.

September 2d. We started this morning as soon as it was light, in hopes of getting to the fort by night. Fowler was much better and seemed comfortable, though very weak. We passed the coal bank mentioned before. I went on shore and got some pieces of coal. We ate what little potatoes and cake we had cooked and went on down the river. Our meat being all gone, and forty or fifty miles to go, we tried to get a fish. I struck a fish with the boat pole that would weigh five or six pounds. This was near where we stayed on the night of the 21st. We passed the mouth of Sugar Creek. Went on shore and took dinner, three or four miles below the creek. About 12 o'clock R. Fowler began to grow worse and the pain returned with much violence. I put camphor on his head and we made him some more tea when we took dinner at about 2 P. W., then ran down below Raccoon Creek and put up for the night.

September 3d. In the morning we arrived at Fort Harrison about 10 A. M., unloaded our boat, and began to prepare for our journey across the woods, but could not sell our boat, as we wanted to.

PART X.

JOURNEY FROM FORT HARRISON TO FORT WAYNE.

September 4th, 1817. We arranged for starting, but could not sell our boat. We collected our things as fast as possible; tried to sell the boat and buy a horse, but could not do so. I sold the six axes, seven hoes and the skins for \$25.

September 5th. We sold the boat to Captain Brutt,* but did not get ready to start. R. Fowler was still sick. We concluded to leave him with money to buy a horse when he got well.

September 6th. We waited until the next morning. I sold my chest and other things and left about \$100 with R. Fowler, besides what he already had.

September 7th. We started in the afternoon and proceeded out onto the prairie about six miles, when it was dark. We laid down for the night, and it was uncomfortable through the night.

September 8th. This morning it rained some. Our pack was so heavy that it made it very hard to get along, and my feet began to be sore. We arrived at Adams about 9 o'clock and got breakfast; tried to get a horse. It rained, so we concluded to stay until morning. I paid 75 cents for our breakfast.

September 9th. It was a very rainy night, and rained hard the fore part of the day, so that we could not start. In the afternoon we went to get the horses ready to start in the morning as soon as we could, if the river was not too high. We had the promise of two horses and I agreed with an Indian for one horse to go to Coezeketon for \$2. Paul and Thomas

* Presumably Capt. Michael Brouillette, who was licensed as a trader at Terre Haute, in 1816, and was a purchaser at the sale of lots there in that year. He had been a militia captain since 1807.

stayed all night. I paid Adams \$1 for being there two nights and days.

September 10th. The weather this morning looked more favorable, though some cloudy. Paul and Thomas returned and said the man was coming with his horse, but we must have some one to go with him so as to have company to return with him. Adams did not want to go, so we could not get any help. We started about 8 A. M., and went on about one mile and came to an Indian camp where there were six Indians. We could get no horse from them. They were going our way, and started immediately. We followed. Paul forgot his powder horn and had to go back after it. Thomas carried his pack and I his gun. The Indians left us.

We went on to Raccoon Creek. It was very high, so that we could not get across. I shot a turkey on the other side, but we could not get to it. We then went up the creek to find a passage. I shot a deer, but it fell on the opposite side. The river was so deep and wide that it went down. Paul stripped and tried to ford, but it was too deep and swift, so we lost the deer. We then went up the creek through the weeds and bushes and over some bad gulfs until we were fatigued, and then turned off to the east to get on the track of the Indians, who had taken an unusual route to avoid the main creek. We overtook them near night, when they had camped, they having one in their company who was sick. We made a fire and camped near them. We came ten or twelve miles. We had in company with us a man by the name of Peleg Tabor, belonging to Onondaga, who wanted to go through with us.

September 11th. This morning the Indians agreed to let us have one horse for \$1, which I gave for the day. We put two packs on the horse and Thomas rode in the forenoon and I in the afternoon. They took the other two packs, and we traveled hard through brush, winding hills, etc., and

crossed some large streams and arrived at the head of Raccoon Creek near night and encamped close to the village. I paid 25 cents for venison and \$1 to Peter Cornstalk for the use of his horse. On the way the Indian killed three turkeys.

September 12th. We secured two horses from the Indians to go to the Wea town, where they were going. I paid them \$2 for the two and we traveled rapidly. Paul and I took turns riding and Thomas rode the other horse. We had very bad traveling. The mud and water in many places was up to our knees, and some creeks were deep, the water being very high. We arrived at the Wea town near night and went to Longlewy to encamp. He informed us he was going to start in the morning for Detroit, and would supply us with two horses in the morning to go to Mississinewa, if he could.

September 13th. In the morning I went up to the Indian that I had hired the horses from yesterday, to get two to go to Mississinewa, and he went with me to our quarters, but would not go without \$10. I agreed with Longlewy for two horses to go to Mississinewa for \$5. I paid him \$1 for our breakfast. We started about 12 o'clock. Thomas and I rode. Paul and Peleg went first, on foot, we taking the packs. We went over a very fine country of land and crossed Sugar Creek. It was very high. We went twelve miles and came to a prairie which extends to the White River. It was about four miles across, and we went some distance into the woods and encamped under a shelter of some bark. Longlewy and his wife, a good-looking Indian woman, and two little boys encamped near us with their tent. The air was very cold and it looked like rain. We came about eighteen miles.

September 14th. This morning it began to rain at about 2 o'clock A. M., but the bark sheltered us. We ate some bread and a little meat and started about 7 o'clock in the morning. The bushes and weeds being very wet, and as it was raining some, it was very muddy and bad traveling. The creeks were

high, some of them so deep as to wet the packs on our horses. Our friend Longlewy killed a raccoon, but it lodged in the tree and he could not get it down. Towards night his dog treed a small one, which his boy shot. We went on until near sundown and camped in the woods. Being wet and cold, we made a large fire, got some bark and made a shelter, dried ourselves as well as we could, and prepared for sleep. I suppose we came this day about thirty-two miles.

September 15th. It continues cloudy and some rain, though we lodged dry in our shelter. We started about 7 o'clock and went on through good land, but a very muddy road, and crossed several streams of water, but none very large except Wild Cat Creek, which we crossed about 1 o'clock p. m. We went on until about 5 o'clock and encamped within about six miles of Mississinewa. Our provisions were all gone. We ate our last piece of bread at the Wild Cat Creek. Our friend Longlewy killed another raccoon, of which they gave us some. We came about twenty-two miles this day and made a shelter with a piece of cloth of Longlewy's, and our bed of weeds.

September 16th. This morning was clear, and I was up by the break of day, dried my things, which were wet by the rain and crossing deep water. We had a little of the raccoon and some boiled corn to eat; started about half past 7 a. m., went down to the village, crossed the river, and went about one and one-fourth miles, where we stopped at a house of a mixture of half French and Indians. Here I paid Longlewy \$5 and he went on his way to Detroit. We could get nothing to eat here but soft corn to take with us for food. We obtained fifty or sixty ears of corn and gave 50 cents. I prevailed on the Indians to let each of us have a piece of bread, and we got some sassafras tea. I had agreed with an Indian for two horses to go with us to Fort Wayne for \$6, and we waited until in the afternoon for him to come, but he sent word that he would not go under \$8. I could get no other Indian or

horse to go, so we shouldered our packs, as heavy as they were, and started about half past 1 o'clock, went up the river about twelve miles, and crossed it. It was two or three feet deep. We went about three or four miles, made a fire about sundown, and encamped on some leaves. Peleg Tabor came up with us about dark, we having outwalked him. It was clear and pleasant, but lightened in the evening and thundered at a distance. We roasted some corn and ate it for supper.

September 17th. We were up early in the morning and roasted corn for our breakfast. It was cloudy and had the appearance of rain; it thundered hard. We started about 6 o'clock, went on two or three miles, and it began to rain very hard. We stopped a few minutes under the trees, but it rained so hard we soon got wet, and went on through the rain. It soon began to be very muddy and slippery. We crossed the Wabash twice. It was about waist deep, but we got very wet and had very hard work to travel. We went about thirty miles and came to the middle village, where there are ten or twelve Indian wigwams. We arrived there about 4 P. M. and secured some boiled corn, also thirty or forty ears, which I had boiled, to take with us tomorrow. I gave them 75 cents for the corn and received some noodles. They gave us some corn and boiled squash, also some dried venison, for which I paid 12 cents. Peleg came up before night and ate with us. He was unwell. We could not lodge in their wigwams, so we started about sundown, and, going into the woods about one-half mile, took fire with us and made fire, and gathered some brush to lie down on. We had dried ourselves as well as we could, and went to sleep. We had passed Longlewy in the forenoon where he had pitched his tent. He came to the village, passed us and encamped about two miles ahead of us.

September 18th. Up early, ate boiled corn, and started on. It was very muddy and bad traveling, or rather wading, in

the mud. We traveled on as fast as we could, having very heavy loads. Besides my pack, I had to carry R. Fowler's rifle, which Peleg undertook to carry, though it was very burdensome. We passed Longlewy's camp, and then he passed us. We traveled rapidly through the mud and crossed several streams of water. Some of them were waist high or more, and several Indians passed us who were going to Fort Wayne. Their horses made the going still worse, as they made the mud deeper. We crossed two or three creeks that were very deep and some swampy marshes, and arrived at Fort Wayne ²² about 8 o'clock in the evening, being very wet and very much fatigued. We waded St. Mary's River before we came to the fort. Put up at Hunt and Olivers, got supper of bread, milk, etc., and changed our clothes. I gave Thomas Isaac \$1 to get some whiskey, and we went to bed, having traveled about thirty-five or forty miles.

PART XI

VOYAGE FROM FORT WAYNE TO DETROIT.

September 19th, 1817. We went to Isaac Wobby's,* but he has gone to the treaty. We took breakfast with Jane. I paid \$1.12 for our supper and lodging. We tried to buy a canoe or boat to go down the river. I went to the garrison, but the major was so sick that I could not see him, nor could I get an answer until in the afternoon; then it was that we could not have a boat, but we obtained the liberty to cut a tree to make one. We concluded to begin the next morning;

²² The garrison at Fort Wayne, in 1817, consisted of 56 men. "The departure of the troops and the abandonment of the fort as a military stronghold took place in 1819. At this time Fort Wayne was a small village." B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*. In 1819 the village contained about thirty dwelling houses. Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, p. 250.

*Note, i. e., Wa-bi, or "White."

bought some soap for 75 cents per pound to wash our clothes, and bought a quart of whiskey for \$1.

September 20th. We prepared to make our canoe. I bought some beef for \$1.75. We went out into the woods and selected a tree about two and one-half miles from the fort, cut it down and began to work on it, by blocking it out, until night. I trod on the path of a bear and ran a bone in the bottom of my foot, which made me very lame.

September 21st. This day we thought best to be still and not work on the canoe, as we had not often an opportunity of resting on the first day (Sunday). Towards evening we prepared to resume work the next day on our canoe.

September 22d. This morning we employed two hands to help us on the canoe. We went out early, worked all day. There were some very heavy showers of rain, which made us very wet. We worked until night; got the inside dug out, so that it was fit to draw to the river. I paid the men \$2 for their work.

September 23d. We prepared to move our canoe to the river. We secured a yoke of oxen and hauled it up to the landing. I bought fifteen pounds of beef for \$1.50 for provision. We made our paddles and intended to start about noon, but it rained, and we concluded to wait until morning and start early. I paid Thomas Isaac \$3 to get stores, bread, sugar, whiskey, etc. We were ready to start early in the morning, and agreed to take in a woman passenger. Peleg Tabor came on again and wanted to go in our canoe. We consented that he might, if we could get along with him in the canoe. All prepared to start early in the morning.

September 24th. We took leave of Jane Wobby and her family and started about 7 A. M. with Peleg Tabor and the widow Jane Edwards as passengers, and ran down the river in our little canoe, which we called the Roebuck. We went on all day without much difficulty, and at night camped on the

bank of the river, having sailed down the river forty-five or fifty miles this day.

September 25th. We started early in the morning; met a pirogue bound for Fort Wayne. Ran down the river all day and had frequent showers that wet us some. About sundown we passed the old Delaware towns and went until near 9 p. m. in hopes of reaching Fort Defiance, but, being very cold and wet, encamped on the bank of the river, having come about forty-six miles.

September 26th. We passed on down the river, and going down a rift we struck on a rock and swung around and filled the Roebuck and wet our baggage. We cleared out the water, went on, and arrived at Fort Defiance about 9 a. m. We stopped and bought some bread and meat for \$2.50. The Auglaze River comes in here. We started about half past 12 p. m., leaving Peleg Tabor behind. We ran until after dark and expected to get to Lamot Prairie, but it was so dark we went on shore and encamped for the night. We ran about twenty-five or thirty miles this day.

September 27th. We started very early, ran down three or four miles, and stopped at Lamot Prairie, took breakfast, and then went past an Indian settlement. Two Indians came to us in a canoe and brought some peaches. We let them have some tobacco. We were at the head of the rapids about 1 p. m.; passed down and found them difficult, the water being very shallow and the bottom rocky, so that we had to wade a good deal of the way. We passed down to Roche de Bout before sundown and encamped with some men who were taking flour down to the treaty. It was about nine miles down the rapids and eighteen miles from Lamot Prairie to the head of the rapids. It was very cold and froze some.

September 28th. This morning there was a hard frost. We started about 7 a. m., went down wading and shoving our canoe along over the rocks where the water was too shoal for

it to float with us in. The water ran very swiftly and sometimes we shipped water and had to go on shore to bail. Arrived at Fort Meigs about 11 A. M. and found Isaac Wobby and Henry Nunham* there and put up at their marquee.

September 29th. We attended the treaty meeting, which was held by Governor Cass and General McArthur on the part of the United States, and the Wyandotts, Taihwas, Shawnees, Pottawottomis, Delawares, and some other tribes of Indians. We also attended on the 30th, when the treaty was finally signed by the parties and concluded.

October 1st. We again attended the treaty, and when the presents were given out I received the goods from Governor Cass that were due to the widow Pictrocke, to the amount of \$137, and delivered them to Henry Nunham and Robert Schugite to forward to her. We sold the Roebuck to H. Nunham for \$8 worth of goods and in the evening we held a council with the Delaware and Shawnee chiefs. The Delawares, in the presence of John Johnson, agent, expressed the desire that the Brothertown Indians would go into their country, and on the 2d I received a certificate from John Johnson of the purport of the council.

October 3d. We engaged our passage to Detroit on board the "Fire Fly," Captain Hammon. Paul and Thomas Isaac assisted in loading the most of the day, and I had a conference with Stickney, the agent for the Miamis, about their lands on the Wabash. We left the marquee and put our packs into a tavern near the landing and lodged there. In the morning my two blankets were stolen from Paul's pack.

October 4th. We were under way about 11 A. M., and going down the river we got onto the rocks, but with some exertion we shoved off and went on down into the lake, and had a fair wind. We ran all night, arriving at Detroit about 7 A. M. on the 5th of October, being about seventy miles from the foot

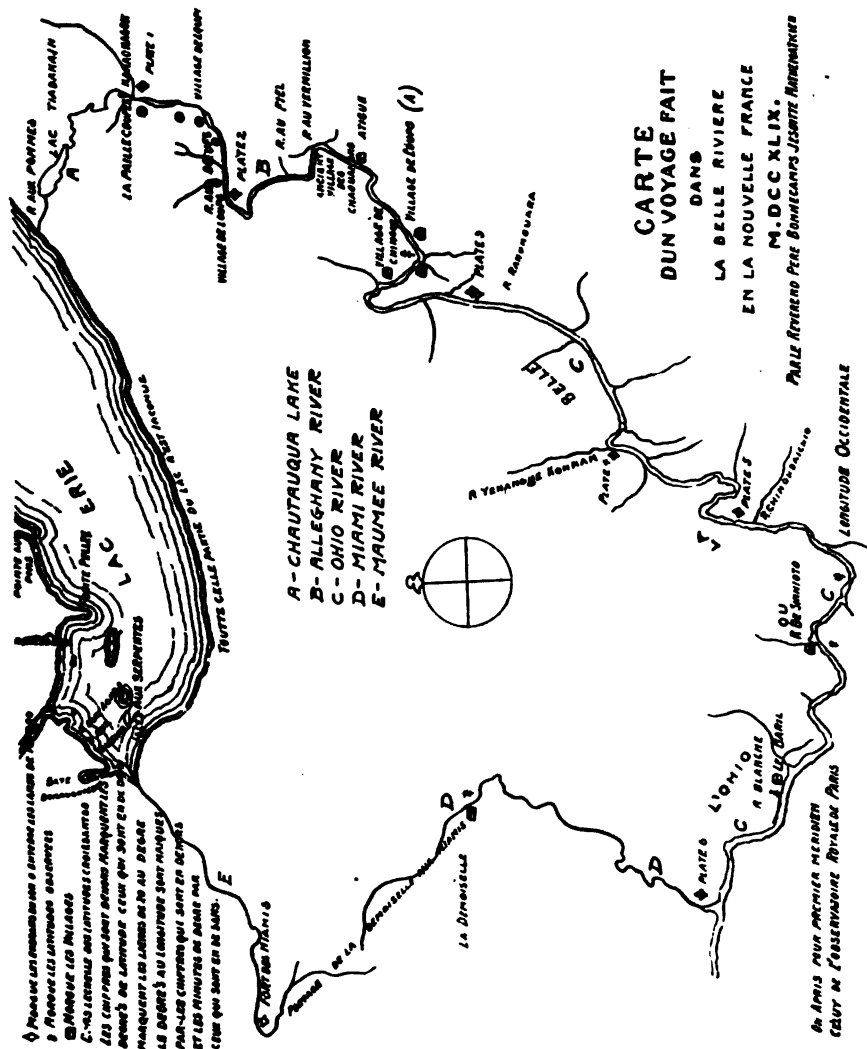
* Brothertown Indians.

of the Maumee Rapids. We left our packs on board the "Fire Fly" and the next day went about the village, and lodged on board at night. Our lodging was but indifferent.

October 6th. It rained some part of the day. We spoke a passage in the "General Wayne" and bought some stores. Paul Dick and I lodged on shore; Thomas Isaac lodged on board the "Fire Fly." Stores cost \$1.25; lodging for Paul and me, \$1.

October 7th. We engaged passage on board the schooner "General Wayne,"* Captain Rough, and put our baggage and stores on board. We took a deck passage for \$3 each, and lodged in the hold on the cable.

* Bound for Buffalo, N. Y.



APPENDIX.

A.

From the mouth of Niagara River to the mouth of the Big Miami, Dean's party followed the same route as M. de Celoron in 1749, when he made his famous journey to "retake possession of the Ohio Valley" for the King of France, and deposited the inscribed lead plates, in evidence of title, which have become well known in the history of the region, the first one recovered having been brought to Col. Wm. Johnson, the English commander, in 1750, by the Iroquois Indians. (N. Y. Col. Docs. Vol. 6, p. 611.) A journal of Celoron's voyage was kept by Father Bonnecamps, who accompanied the expedition, which is reproduced by Margry, and a translation will be found in Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 69, p. 150. They made the portage of Niagara Falls on the Canadian side; entered Lake Erie on July 14; and early on the 16th arrived "at the portage of Yjadakein. It began at the mouth of a little stream called Riviere aux pommes—the 3d that is met after entering the lake, and thus it may be easily recognized." This portage, variously known as Yjadakein, Tjadakein, Yadakein, Chadakein and Chatakouin, to Chautauqua Lake, was an ancient Indian route from the lakes to the Allegheny River, and was used by the whites for many years afterwards, for travel and trade purposes. Celoron went over this route in low water, and Bonnecamps journal gives a vivid picture of its difficulties in that condition. He says:

"The 17th. We began the portage, and made a good league that day. I observed the latitude at the 2nd station,—that is, half a league from his lake—and I found it 42° 33'. The 18th. Our people being fatigued, we shortened the intervals between the stations, and we hardly made more than half a league. The 19th. Bad weather did not allow us to advance far; nevertheless we gained ground every day, and, the 22d

the portage was entirely accomplished. In my judgment, it is three and a half leagues. The road is passably good. The wood through which it is cut resembles our forests in France. The beech, the ash, the elm, the red and white oak—these trees compose the greater part of it. * * * Having reached the shore of Lake Yjadakin, Monsieur de Celoron thought it well to pass the rest of the day in camp to give his people a breathing space. On the morning of the 23d, we examined the provisions, pitched the canoes, and set out. Before starting, I took advantage of the fine weather to get the latitude, which I found to be $42^{\circ} 30'$. Lake Yjadakein may be a league and a half in its greatest width, and 6 leagues in its entire length. It becomes narrow near the middle, and seems to form a double lake.

“We left it on the morning of the 24th, and entered the little river which bears its name, and which is, as it were, its outlet. After a league and a half of still water, one enters a rapid, which extends for three leagues or more; in times of drouth it is very shallow. We were told that in the spring, or after heavy rains, it is navigable; as for us, we found it drained dry. In certain places, which were only too frequent, there was barely two or three inches of water. Before entering this place, Monsieur de Celoron had the greater part of the baggage unloaded, with people to carry it to the rendezvous.”

In making this second portage, evidences were found that an alarm had been spread among the Indians of the coming of the party, which numbered nearly three hundred men, and they were fleeing from the country. On the 25th de Celoron sent M. de Joncaire forward to the village of La Paille Coupee, or “Broken Straw,” on the Allegheny River, to announce his peaceful intentions, and invite the chiefs to a council. This village was a few miles below the mouth of the Conewango. After the departure of de Joncaire, with a party of Indians, Bonnecamps continues:

"We then worked at repairing our canoes, and sent them on, half-loaded. On the morning of the 27th, we again found the still water, on which we advanced tranquilly until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 on the 28th,—a fatal hour, which plunged us again into our former miseries. The water suddenly gave out under our canoes, and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging them over the stones,—whose sharp edges, in spite of our care and precautions, took off large splinters from time to time. Finally, overcome with weariness, and almost despairing of seeing la Belle Riviere, we entered it on the 29th at noon. Monsieur de Celoron buried a plate of lead on the south bank of the Ohio (Alleghany—the Iroquois gave the same name to both streams); and, farther rawn, he attached the royal coat of arms to a tree. After these operations, we encamped opposite a little Iroquois village of 12 or 13 cabins; it is called Kananouango (Conewango).

"The 30th. We arrived at La Paille Coupee. * * * La Paille Coupee is a very insignificant village, composed of Iroquois and some Delawares. It is situated on the north bank of the Alleghany, and is bounded on the north by a group of mountains which form a very narrow half-basin at the bottom of which is the village; its latitude is $42^{\circ} 5'$."

From this point de Celoron pursued his journey without much difficulty. Bonnecamps says that the Allegheny "is very shallow during the first twenty leagues,"—i. e., from the mouth of Conewango Creek—but there had been a heavy rain, which gave a good stage of water for travel. The second lead plate was buried about nine miles below the mouth of the Riviere aux Boeufs, called by the English Venango, and now known as French Creek; at the celebrated carved rock. (Note. See Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Vol. 4, p. 172, and plate 18.) Other plates were buried at the mouths of the Kanonouara (probably Wheeling Creek, W. Va.); the Jenenguekona, or Yenanguakonon (The Muskingum); and the Chinodaichta

(Chinondaista—the great Kanawha). The one at the mouth of the Muskingum was found in 1798, and is preserved by the American Antiquarian Society; the one at the mouth of the great Kanawha was found in 1846, and is preserved by the Virginia Historical Society.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of this route from Lake Erie to the Ohio, it was evidently fair for flat-boats in high water, and was the customary route for the early settlers, as appears from the following:

Samuel R. Brown's *Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory*, Auburn, N. Y., 1817 (same in ed. of 1819, p. 375), says: "Chautauque Lake, within twenty miles of the western extremity of the tract (the Holland Purchase) is 22 miles long, and from two to six feet wide, extending north and south; at the head of which is the pleasant village of Fredonia, which has a good boat and raft navigation to Pittsburgh and New Orleans. The portage from Fredonia to Lake Erie is nine miles, over a good road. Chautauque Creek, which heads ten or fifteen miles southwest of Fredonia, and enters Lake Erie at Portland, is remarkable for the immense depth of its bed, being four or five hundred feet below the surface of the country, and is a good stream for mills. East of Chautauque Lake, six or eight miles, are the three Casdaga Lakes, from one to five miles in circumference, and discharging their waters into the east branch of the Connewango River. A few miles east of these lakes is the Great Buffalo Swamp, nine miles long, and three wide, obviously the ruins of an ancient lake. The Connewango meanders lazily through its whole extent from north to south. It is covered by brambles, flags, and alders, with a few islands of woodland. It is very miry; and in some places will tremble beneath one's feet for several rods. The surrounding country, on all sides, except at the outlet, is high and fertile. The Seneca Indians call it Cah-eh-ta-wa-na."

A memoir of Judge Samuel Wilkinson, in Vol. 5 of the

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society says: "Soon after his father's death he married and went to southeastern Ohio, and opened another farm for himself in another wilderness. As he was logging and burning one night at 11 o'clock, a sense of the slowness and distance of reward for his terrible toil stopped his work. Before he resumed it, he had planned a change of employment, and was a builder of keel-boats, and a merchant and a transporter, who loaded with glass, nails, bar iron and other commodities in Pittsburgh and carried them by the Allegheny and Connewango Rivers, Chautauque Lake, Lake Erie and the Niagara River to Black Rock and Buffalo, and loaded back with Onandaga salt brought up Lake Ontario. With him to determine was to do. Soon he was master of vessels. The first of them he built with his own hands from timber trees growing on the river bank, with no other tools than an ax, a wedge, a saw, an auger and a hammer. Not an iron spike nor a nail was used in their construction. He varied his traffic by the inland route with voyages to points up Lake Erie. The beginning of the superb commerce of the 3,000 ton vessels that now enter the harbor of Buffalo was in these open boats and salt was their principal freight. This lake trade, however, was soon destroyed by war, the second that the British waged against this country—that of 1812."

It is therefore obvious that when, on June 16th, 1817, the Dean party decided by a majority vote to take the Chautauqua route to the Wabash, instead of the shorter route by Fort Wayne, because "it was safer," they were dealing with a fairly well understood problem of early transportation. There were an extraordinary number of these portages between the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, especially in northern Indiana, (Dawson's *Life of Harrison*, p. 133; *Memoir of Vergennes*, pp. 81-9) and their importance caused the provision of the Ordinance of 1787: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying

places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor." Under this provision, many small streams were "surveyed out" by meander lines, and reserved from sale by the United States. With the discontinuation of portage travel, this provision dropped out of sight, and this public property has been largely encroached upon by private parties; but the public right has recently been reasserted in the case of the Chicago Drainage Canal, and the National authorities are giving attention to it on account of the water powers involved. In Indiana the matter is of peculiar importance on account of the large number of streams involved containing enormous deposits of sand and gravel, which are needed for road-making; and some of these streams can easily be made navigable for large boats by removing the deposits of gravel and the drifts, with a few dams for slack water purposes.

B.

Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler was one of the most prominent of the early physicians of Vincennes and Terre Haute, and unusually skilled in surgery. He was a native of New York, born in 1790, and a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of New York. Soon after entering the practice of medicine, he removed to Vincennes, the first notice of his arrival there being in the *Western Sun*, of July 4, 1818. His standing with the profession may be seen from the fact that he was twice elected president of the medical society which had been organized at Vincennes in 1817, and was sent as a delegate to the first state medical society, with Dr. Philip Barton, in 1819. An interesting account of his practice is given by Dr. Ezra Reed, of Terre Haute. (Note. *Kemper's Medical History of Indiana*, pp. 60, 65-8.) He was active in vari-

ous lines—was a militia captain, a prominent Mason, wrote poetry for the newspapers, and, in 1826, was a candidate for Congress. He was defeated for Congress, but to his candidacy is due the preservation of his article concerning Dean's expedition which was originally printed in the Vincennes Centinel, in the latter part of July, 1817. No copy of this paper is preserved, but, being assailed as unfriendly to "the navigation of the Wabash," which was a public demand in 1826, he reprinted the article in the Western Sun of July 11, 1826, as evidence of his record on the question. Dr. Shuler removed to Terre Haute in 1822-3, and practiced there until his death in 1827. He was a brother-in-law of N. F. Cunningham, who served as Treasurer of State, and his son was at one time Warden of the penitentiary at Jeffersonville. The Dean article, as reproduced, is as follows:

"FROM THE INDIANA CENTINEL.

"The extensive inland navigation of the western country, is strikingly exemplified by the late arrival at this port (Sunday, July 20) of the elegant schooner built boat, "Brotherton Enterprise," of six tons burthen, from Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.) in fifty days. This boat left the Mohawk River (Oneida Creek), on the first of June last, under the command of Thomas Dean, and is navigated by four Indian men, accompanied by two Indian women and an Indian boy, all possessing habits, manners and education indicative of the most complete and refined civilization. The object of Capt. Dean and company, we understand, is to obtain from the Wabash Indians the cession of a tract of land for the Brotherton Indians, in consequence of an invitation given by the former. They intend to ascend the Wabash to its source, and by a short portage, to pass over into the Miami of the lake, by which they calculate to return. The whole route will, they calculate, be performed by the first of September next, making (in the short space of

three months including the time spent in curiosity, business and the necessary detention of bad weather), a journey of between two and three thousand miles—belting the states of Ohio and Indiana, and part of the states of New York and Pennsylvania. In circumnavigating this extensive area, which contains between 80 and 100,000 square miles, they have only to pass three short portages of about thirty miles. From Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.), they passed through Wood Creek, into the Oneida Lake, from which they descended the Oswego River into Lake Ontario—coasting the south side of that lake, to the Niagara Falls, they carried their boat on wheels from Queenston to Chippawa (a portage of eleven or twelve miles), into the Niagara River, ascending the Niagara, and coasting the north side of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Catoragus Creek, and up it to a portage of eight and a half miles, over which they passed into Chautauque Lake, and down the Conewongo into the Allegheny. The Allegheny, Ohio and Wabash present a smooth and uninterrupted navigation to the head of the Wabash, a portage of nine miles, connects the Wabash with the Miami of the lake, over which Capt. Dean intends to transport his boat, and descend the Miami into Lake Erie. He will coast that lake to Buffalo, New York. In the spring of the year during high water, boats have frequently passed and repassed by water, from the Wabash to the Miami of the lake, without unloading.

“With a striking view, does not this give of the future relative importance of the western states. The waters of this country, are generally speaking, navigable to their source, for boats of considerable burthen, and in numerous places, the waters leading into the Ohio, are connected by short portages, to the navigable waters of the lakes—indeed from the Illinois River, boats can frequently, at a high stage of water, pass into Lake Michigan, as easily as from the Wabash into Lake Erie. Had Capt. Dean ascended the Illinois, and thence into the

lakes, he would have doubled the length of his route, and circumnavigated twice the extent of territory which he now will. If the contemplated canal through the state of New York is ever completed, and if the waters of the Ohio were connected by canals with the lakes, I think the opinion may be hazarded, that the states of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois Territory will, in time, become more populous and rich than any other equal extent of country in the United States."

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

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Owing to disappointment in receiving copy for a proposed number, two new volumes have been commenced, and neither is completed. The completed numbers of Vols. 6 and 7 are as follows:

VOL. 6—IN PREPARATION.

No. 1, Proceedings Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, edited by Prof. Harlow Lindsey; 270 pages.

VOL. 7—IN PREPARATION.

No. 1, *Sieur-de-Vincennes Identified*, by Pierre George Roy; 130 pages.

No. 2, *Morgan's Raid in Indiana*, by Judge Louis B. Ewbank; 50 pages.

Separate numbers can be had at 50 cents each.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 6.

NO. 3.

EARLY INDIANA
Trails and Surveys

BY

GEORGE R. WILSON, C.E., L.L.B.

*Ex-County Surveyor of Dubois County; and Author of
History of Dubois County.*

INDIANAPOLIS
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1919

Early Indiana Trails and Surveys

PART I.

EARLY TRAILS.

The most prominent early line of travel on land in southern Indiana was the *Buffalo Trace*, also called the "Kentucky Road," "Vincennes Trace," "Clarksville Trace," "Harrison's Road," "Lan-an-zo-ki-mi-wi," etc. It entered Indiana at the Falls of the Ohio, passed in a northwesterly direction and left Indiana at Vincennes. As a line of travel between the same two points, this old trail was as prominent in 1800 and previous thereto as the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is to-day. The buffaloes passed over it in great numbers, and kept it open, in many places twenty feet wide. It was a beaten and well worn path, so prominent and conspicuous that, in 1804, it was used by General Harrison and the Indians to locate a treaty line.¹ Forty-three miles of it, from "Clark's Grant" to the east line of the Vincennes Tract, in Orange county, were surveyed by "calls," that is, by courses and distances, by Surveyor William Rector, in August,² 1805. His survey was

¹ Indiana Historical Society's Publication 4, pp. 254, 255, 383, 312, 190 and 256; same, Volume 2, p. 16; same, Volume 2, p. 464; Miscellaneous Record 1, pp. 29, 33, 37 and 39, State Auditor's Office; Smith's *Indiana*, Volume 1, pp. 232 and 233; Glasscock's *Indiana*, pp. 155-162; Indiana Plat Book 5, pp. 6, 12 and 24; Record 5, N. & W., p. 242; Record 4, N. & W., p. 190; Record 3, N. & W., p. 173; Record 1, N. & W. p. 4.

² Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, State Auditor's Office, p. 37; see Record of Survey 31, of Clark's Grant, made in 1785, in Clark county, land now owned by Sheriff Isaac R. Phipps.

made in order to run the north line of the Vincennes treaty concession of 1804. The remaining part, as well as the part surveyed by Mr. Rector may be exactly determined by reference to the field notes of the deputy surveyors who subdivided the Vincennes Tract and the Vincennes treaty concessions, in 1804-5. The records are part of the land department of the State Auditor's Office. The old trace follows the Buckingham base line very closely, through Dubois and Pike counties, and crosses White river on its way to Vincennes six miles west of the confluence of its two forks. N. Harlan's ferry had been established there previous³ to 1805. It is likely that Abraham Lincoln crossed White river at this ferry, in 1830, on his way from Spencer county, Indiana, to Illinois.

The southwest boundary of what afterward became known as the "New Purchase" is often called the "ten o'clock line." In making the survey of the "ten o'clock line" from the mouth of Raccoon creek to Jackson county, John McDonald, the surveyor crossed several Indian traces or lines of travel. He made the survey in 1810. The line is more than 94 miles in length. Near what is now Bridgeton, he recorded an Indian trail going southwest, or northeast.⁴ He also recorded an

³ Record 9, pp. 403, 411 and 425, N. & W., Land Department State Auditor's Office; Indiana Historical Society's Publication 2, pp. 366 and 458, and Volume 3, p. 97; Plat Book 5, pp. 27 and 157; Record N. & W. 6, p. 246; Record N. & W. 5, p. 242; Record N. & W. 5, pp. 5, 12 and 24; Record N. & W. 1, p. 4; Record N. & W. 4, p. 190; Record N. & W. 3, pp. 141 to 173; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 28; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 38 and 144; for map see Smith's *Indiana*; American State Papers, Class 2, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 689 and 690; Senate Documents, Volume 39, pp. 70, 71 and 72; Indiana Historical Society's Publication 2, pp. 366 and 464; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 490.

⁴ Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 447; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 210 and 229; Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, pp. 73 and 89.

Indian road at what is now Gosport, and one between Cataract and Santa Fe. Ten miles east of Bloomington he crossed an Indian trail running north and south.⁵ South of White river, near Brownstown, he recorded another Indian road, going east and west⁶; west perhaps to the old Delaware camp at the forks of White river. There was an army crossing at the mouth of Raccoon creek;⁷ the trail crossed the Wabash there and followed up the right hand or west bank of the river. This fact made the mouth of Raccoon creek prominent enough to be a beginning point of the "Harrison Purchase,"⁸ in 1809. On this "ten o'clock line" there was an Indian trail between what is now Dana and Hillsdale.⁹ Since the line ran in a southeasterly direction, the traces must have crossed it nearly at right angles, or the surveyor would not have recorded them. Probably all led toward Ft. Wayne and Vincennes.¹⁰ The survey of this line was not pleasing to Tecumseh, and he so intimated to the United States government, August 10, 1810, at Vincennes.¹¹ He was very angry at the chiefs who "touched the quill," as the Indians called signing a treaty.

⁵ Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, pp. 90 and 101.

⁶ Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, p. 115; Record N. & W. 2, p. 420; Plat Book 2, p. 17, State Auditor's Office; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 373.

⁷ Indiana Historical Society's Publication 4, pp. 277 and 180; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 242 and 258; *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana*, pp. 45 and 59; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 447; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 38 and 65; *History of Indiana*, by Goodrich & Tuttle, p. 155.

⁸ Manuscript No. 49062 Indiana State Library, pp. 71, 72, 73 and 74; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 535-538; Senate Documents Volume 39, pp. 101 and 102; American State Papers, Class 2, *Indian Affairs*, p. 761.

⁹ Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, p. 119; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 63.

¹⁰ Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 246 and 345.

¹¹ Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 431 and 454.

At the mouth of the Kentucky river, and on its right hand bank stood "Fort William,"¹² in 1805. It is now Carrollton, Kentucky. This was a point on the Greenville Treaty line.¹³

An Indian trail which passed through the "gore," crossed the Greenville Treaty line about 71 miles from the Ohio river.¹⁴ This old trail was a short distance north of Liberty, Indiana, and may have led to Liberty. It was indicated as an "Indian road to White river," by John Brownson,¹⁵ the surveyor, in 1806. It may have led to "Shield's Trading House," near Seymour.

There were early trails running east and west through Dearborn county. One went from near Milan toward Cincinnati. The survey records call it "Kibbey's Road."¹⁶ It was the first one crossing the entire state from Cincinnati to Vincennes, and was laid out early in the nineteenth century, perhaps in 1801-2. The *Western Spy*, published in Cincinnati July 23, 1799, contained the following item: "Captain E. Kibbey, who some time since undertook to cut a road from Vincennes to this place, returned on Monday, reduced to a perfect skeleton. He had cut the road 70 miles, when, by some means, he was separated from his men. After hunting them some days without success, he steered his course this way. He had undergone great hardships and was obliged to

¹² Plat Book 1, pp. 71-108.

¹³ Volume 3, W. of 1st Mer., p. 96.

¹⁴ Plat Book 1, p. 15.

¹⁵ Plat Book 1, p. 17; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 102.

¹⁶ Plat Book 1, pp. 39-45; Samuel McCoy's novel "*Tippecanoe*," p. 152; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 1, pp. 256, 259, 260, 279, 292, 340, 341 and 347; *Notes on a Journey in America*, 1818, by Morris Birkbeck. pp. 78-89; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, p. 79.

subsist upon roots, etc., which he picked up in the woods." Twenty years later gazetteers described the line of the road west from Cincinnati as "Burlington, 15 miles; Rising Sun, 10; Judge Cotton's, 20; Madison, 20; New Lexington, 17; Salem, 32; French Lick, 34; east fork White river, 17; north fork White river, 20; Vincennes, 16; total, 201 miles."

The other road passed a mile south of Chesterville, just north of Aurora, and probably through what is now Lawrenceburg to Cincinnati. One may have led from "*Shield's Trading House*," at Seymour, and the other one from near French Lick to Cincinnati. Thomas Freeman, the Vincennes tract surveyor, in 1802, records a 'trace to Cincinnati,' about thirteen miles south of Orleans, in Orange county.¹⁷ This may have been Captain Kibbey's road, and if so, it was the Kibbeys' road that crossed Salt creek and eventually became the north fork of the famous Vincennes and Clarksville trace, often called the Buffalo trace.

Prior to 1820, a store, or trading post was established at Hindostan, probably on Captain Kibbey's road, by Lewis Brooks, and from this store supplies for hunters, pioneers, etc., were taken down White river on boats to Portersville, the first "county town" of Dubois county. It was two miles from Portersville to the Buffalo trace, thus this plan connected the two forks of this road and furnished a connecting link in event of Indian trouble. Thomas J. Brooks conducted the store at Portersville. The tradition is that the Brooks bought their goods "on east," i. e., Cincinnati. They were Yankees

¹⁷ Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, pp. 62 and 63; Miscellaneous Record 1, *Indiana*, p. 29; Volume 3 *W. of First Meridian*, p. 96; 1800 State Auditor's Office; Plat Book 5, p. 136; Plat Book 1. page 127; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 232.

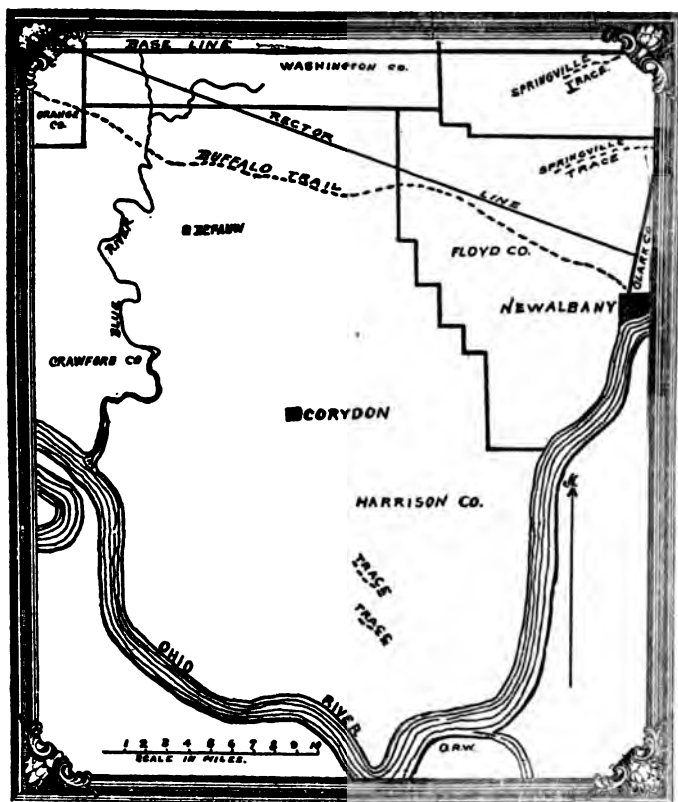


PLATE I.

and came from Concord, Massachusetts. Hindostan failed during the pestilence in Indiana between 1820 and 1822.¹⁸

An Indian trail led from Vallonia southeast through Washington and Scott counties into "Clark's Grant," entering it near the Pigeon Roost Monument, and probably going to the "Falls of the Ohio," by way of the old town of Springville, to which town two traces came from the west.¹⁹ In 1801, Springville was the county seat of Clark county. Its history covered two years. It is now a ploughed field. Springville was situated on Pleasant Run, on the line between lots 94 and 115 in "Clark's Grant." It was a short distance from Charlestown.

Springville, like many other pioneer "county towns," has passed away, except upon the old maps and surveys, nevertheless, for this place on April 7, 1801, the first court of justice of the territory of Indiana was commissioned by General Harrison.

Springville was headquarters for those opposed to slavery in Indiana, in 1807. One trail from the west was about nine miles north of New Albany. It left Floyd county at its northeast corner, and entered Clark's Grant almost at the northeast corner of section 26, town 1 south, range 6 east. The other was thirteen miles north, and entered Clark's Grant one-half mile south of the base line, about half way between the base

¹⁸ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 178, 179 and 190; *Indiana Gazetteer*, pp. 118 and 119; Mrs. Eugenia C. Chappell, R. F. D. No. 2, Petersburg, Indiana, 1916; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 522; Hindostan, a Pioneer Town. *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1914; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 239, 247, 254, 261, 355 and 370.

¹⁹ Plat Book 5, pp. 195 and 198; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 412 and 492; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Volume 2, pp. 128-134 and 518; Volume 3, p. 97; Smith's *Indiana*, p. 133; *History of Indiana* by Goodrich & Tuttle, p. 164; Morris Birkbeck's Notes, 1818, p. 83, *Sholt's Tavern*.

line and the Muddy fork of Silver creek. Springville had a stockade.²⁰

In 1819, Surveyor B. F. Morris, in his survey of the land around Columbus, Indiana, recorded the east fork of White river under the name "Driftwood."²¹

Before the treaty of Vincennes, which gave the United States a title to the land between the Vincennes tract and the Ohio river, many persons who had started from Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, intending to settle in the Northwest Territory, had stopped in Kentucky, all along the southern bank of the Ohio river, and were waiting for an opportunity to enter Indiana, as soon as the government had possession and the surveys began. There is no regular survey in Kentucky, and settlers were never sure of their titles. Frequently all their possessions were lost through an unknown previous title or claim.

After the treaty these people entered Indiana over the Blue river, Rome, Yellow Banks, Red Banks, Saline, and other trails.²² It is said that from 1785 to 1812 more than 2,000 men, women and children were carried into captivity from Kentucky and the Northwest Territory, and that not one in ten was ever heard of again.²³

²⁰ Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, pp. 62 and 63; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, p. 518, Vol. 3, pp. 97, 102; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 412; See "*Illinois Grant*," State Auditor's Office; Indianapolis News, June 9, 1915; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 136; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 203; Plat Book 5 p. 133; *Executive Journal Indiana Territory*, pp. 4, 109.

²¹ Plat Book 2, page 161; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 138, 219; Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*," pp. 39 and 40.

²² Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 96 and 427; *American Archives*, 4th Series, Vol. 1, p. 1014; Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 25 and 26; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 150, 155, 200 and 243; Esarey's *History of Indiana*, p. 92.

²³ Esarey's *History of Indiana*, pp. 160 and 168.

The surveyor of range 4 east, made a note of an Indian trace in Harrison county. A trace crossed the south fork of Buck creek two miles above its mouth. It is also recorded about two miles farther south. Probably this trace led from the Ohio river to Corydon, and eventually to the Buffalo trace, the main trunk line, so far as Indian traces, in southern Indiana, are concerned. Incidentally, the War of 1812 was the cause of the capital of Indiana Territory being moved from Vincennes to Corydon.²⁴ The Buffalo trace crossed Blue river two or three miles east of the southeast corner of Orange county. The Blue river crossing was historically prominent.²⁵ Squire Boone's mill stood on Buck creek, and Boone's "cave-sepulcher" is near by. The Buck creek trace was well known in the pioneer days of Harrison county.

There was a small fort on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, at the mouth of Salt river, and many pioneers came to Indiana, by way of this stream.²⁶

There appears to have been an Indian trail five miles south of what is now Leopold, in Perry county. It led northwest from the Ohio river.²⁷ Going almost northwest from Rome, in Perry county, and leaving Cannelton, Tell City and Troy from six to eight miles south, an Indian road crossed the Anderson river three miles southeast of Fulda, passed through

²⁴ Samuel McCoy's novel, "*Tippecanoe*," pp. 9 and 146; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 368 and 369; (Read General Gibson's speech).

²⁵ See Act creating Clark county; Miscellaneous Record Indiana, p. 37, State Auditor's Office; Plat Book 5, p. 125; Samuel McCoy's *Tippecanoe*; see Boone's *Cave Sepulcher*, by Coulmbia Paxton Wood, in *Huntingburg Independent* of May 20, 1916; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 145, 205 and 246.

²⁶ The University Society's *Lincoln*, p. 23; Holland's *Lincoln*, p. 25; Herndon & Weik's *Lincoln*, p. 16; Nicolay's *Lincoln*, p. 7.

²⁷ Plat Book 5, p. 11.

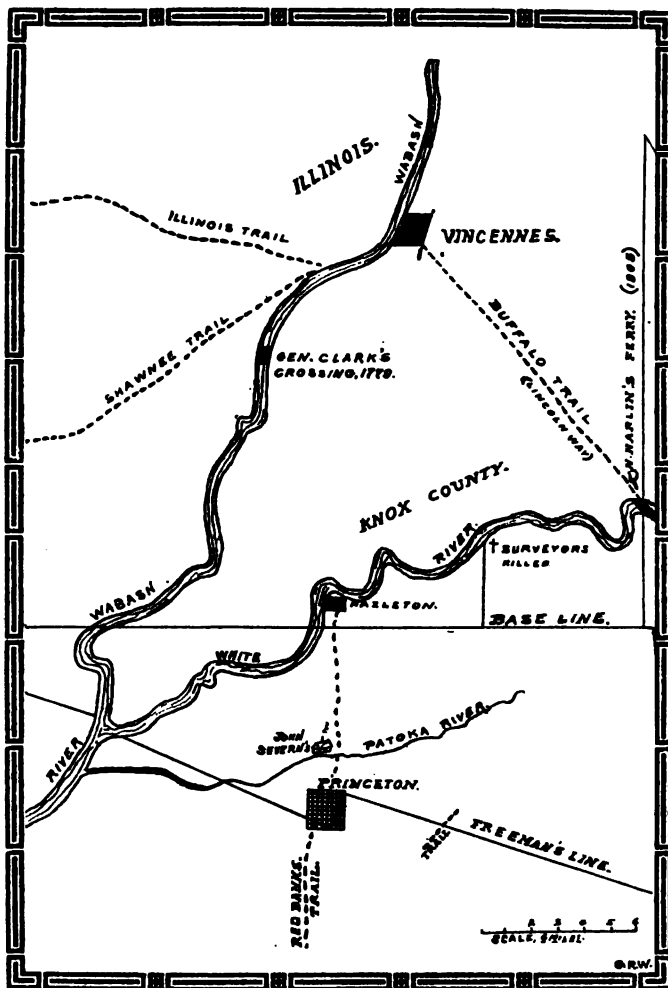


PLATE 2.

Fulda, Mariah Hill, and went north of Dale, almost to the southwest corner of Dubois county, entered Pike county, and seems to have been lost at the Freeman line, two miles north-east of Pleasantville. The "Yellow Banks Trail" came up from Rockport, by way of Chrisney, Gentryville, and joined the "Rome Trace" near the Pike county line. Rome was originally called Washington. It was an early county seat of Perry county. E. Buckingham, William Rector and Levi Barber were early settlers in Perry county. These names are found upon the early surveys of Indiana.²⁸

Surveyor Thomas Freeman found a large buffalo trace in Crawford county. It entered Dubois county near Birdseye, near which town is a buffalo wallow. He also made a record of an Indian trail four miles east of Princeton, Indiana, in 1802. This is probably the old trail used by pioneers in traveling from New Harmony, via Princeton, and reaching the Buffalo trace, so as to remain over night at Fort McDonald, at the *Mudholes*. Later government surveyors do not seem to mention this trail from this line to the Ohio. Thomas Freeman, the surveyor mentioned above, also surveyed the north line of Florida, in 1796.

Colonel Josiah Harmer, at the head of a detachment of United States infantry, after marching across the country from a point on the Ohio, at the mouth of Pigeon creek, reached Vincennes on the 19th of July, 1787. He must have gone over the Red Banks Trail.²⁹

²⁸ Surveyor's Records of Ranges 1 to 7 inclusive, of land acquired by the treaty of Vincennes, 1804, State Auditor's Office; Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, pp. 18 and 19; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 208; *Indiana, The Public Domain and Its Survey*, map, p. 9. (Note: "Yellow Banks" was in Kentucky, opposite range 6 west, in Indiana.)

²⁹ Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 379 and 406; Miscellaneous Record I, Indiana, p. 17; Hume's *Journal of a Visit to the Western Country*, also *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 520; Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*," p. 68.

One of the most conspicuous Indian traces in southern Indiana was known as the "Red Banks Trail," running from what is now Henderson, Kentucky, north by way of Evansville and Princeton to Vincennes. It ran almost due north and south, and practically with what are now the Evansville & Terre Haute Railroad and the Traction Line from Evansville to Princeton. It ran about one mile west of the range line between ranges 10 and 11.³⁰

About six miles northwest of Mt. Carmel, Illinois, are located two "beauty spots," so called by Thomas Freeman, the Vincennes tract surveyor, of 1802. Two Indian traces from the south—called roads by the surveyors, joined near there, and probably helped to form the famous "Shawnee trace" that led from southern Illinois to Vincennes. The southwest corner of the Vincennes tract is in section 34, town 1 north, range 14 west, near Fox river, in Illinois. The base line runs east and west about one-half mile south of this corner, and crosses the Freeman line near a half-section corner of section 35. The "Beauty spots" and the two roads are between this Freeman corner and the Wabash river.

General Clark followed an old Indian trace through southern Illinois, and intended to meet his galley and forty men near the mouth of White river before he took Vincennes, February 24, 1779. To do so he would have to follow or cross some or all of these Indian trails, in Illinois, near what afterward became the southwest corner of the Vincennes tract—an Indian gift to the French—unless he followed the "Illinois

³⁰ Plat Book 5, pp. 74, 75 and 76; Indiana Historical Society's Publication 2, p. 464, Vol. 6, p. 296-297 (map); Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 323.

trace" hereinafter mentioned.⁸¹ The "Hunters' Road" mentioned by General Clark may have joined these traces.⁸²

The so-called Illinois trace led west from Vincennes, and was really the "Old Buffalo trace," from Clark's Grant.⁸³ The west line of the Vincennes tract crossed the Illinois trace. The crossing was almost equidistant from the two corners, on a prairie, and near a creek. If General Clark came east on this trace, in 1779, he left it at the Embarrass river, went down the river, and then over to and across the Wabash. His boat was to come up the Wabash and meet him at the mouth of White river, or near it.⁸⁴

An Indian trail led north from Vincennes, and crossed the Freeman line near Carlisle, about one and one-half miles east of the northwest corner of the Carlisle offset. It continued north, passed near Terre Haute, and to Fort Harrison. The survey records show an excellent map of Fort Harrison and its ancient environs of 1375.23 acres, known as the "United States Military Reserve." The reserve began about one mile

⁸¹ Plat Book 2, pp. 121 and 124; Plat Book 5, pp. 87 and 177; Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, p. 13, State Auditor's Office; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 18, 38, 71 and 150; *The Book of the Sons of the Revolution in Indiana*, by Wm. Allen Wood, p. 57; Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, pp. 153 and 156.

⁸² Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 124.

⁸³ Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, p. 10; Plat Book 2, p. 122.

⁸⁴ State Geologist's Report, 1873 (map); *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 38; *The Western Gazetteer* (1817), p. 39—"principal rapids"; Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, p. 10; *Executive Journal, Indiana Territory*, p. 113 (Ferry); same, p. 132; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 57, map of Clark's Expedition; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 141; Ellis' *Life of Daniel Boone*, p. 94; *The Book of the Sons of the Revolution in Indiana*, p. 57; Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, pp. 156 and 157.

north of Terre Haute, and extended north two miles or more.³⁵

In the neighborhood of Odon there were several Indian trails that probably led from Vincennes, or the Delaware town on White river, toward Gosport.³⁶ Thomas Freeman made a record of Indian trails or roads in the neighborhood of Indian and Trinity Springs, in Martin county.³⁷

An Indian trace going from Fort Wayne to Fort Harrison passed near Thorntown, in 1822.³⁸

It is apparent from these officially recorded Indian traces or trails that all led toward Vincennes, or its environs. They establish Vincennes as the "Indian capital" of southern Indiana. In places some of these Indian traces have become surface roads, improved highways, "Dixie Highways," and even railroads and traction lines. Many early pioneer roads were blazed from them, but this article is confined to the period when Indians, as well as white men, used them. It is a source of most exquisite pleasure to a surveyor to read the field notes of a government deputy surveyor who was copious in his notations on his official records. Probably they are valued more

³⁵ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 68; Brown's "Western Gazetteer," p. 68 and p. 77; Samuel McCoy's novel, "Tippecanoe," pp. 176-179. Thomas Freeman surveyed the Spanish line in Florida, Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, p. 409; Plat Book 2, p. 84, State Auditor's Office; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 242 and 256; Montgomery's *Life of Harrison*, p. 92; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, pp. 96 and 97; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 358, 361 and 365; Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, p. 34; Article 5, Treaty of Ft. Wayne, 1803; Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 64 and 65; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 38 and 110; Beard's "The Battle of Tippecanoe," page 52; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 157, 158 and 447. Read "On the Wea Trail," a novel by Caroline Brown, p. 106. McCoy's "Tippecanoe," pp. 176 and 179.

³⁶ See Freeman survey; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 351.

³⁷ Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, pp. 26 and 27; Plat Book 2, p. 55.

³⁸ Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, p. 265.

now than when he made them. An observant deputy might record a small Indian path or road, while one not so observant might easily fail to record a more prominent trace. However, the survey records refer to the old trails with such frequency that where no mention is made of them their location may be determined with a fair degree of accuracy by tradition,

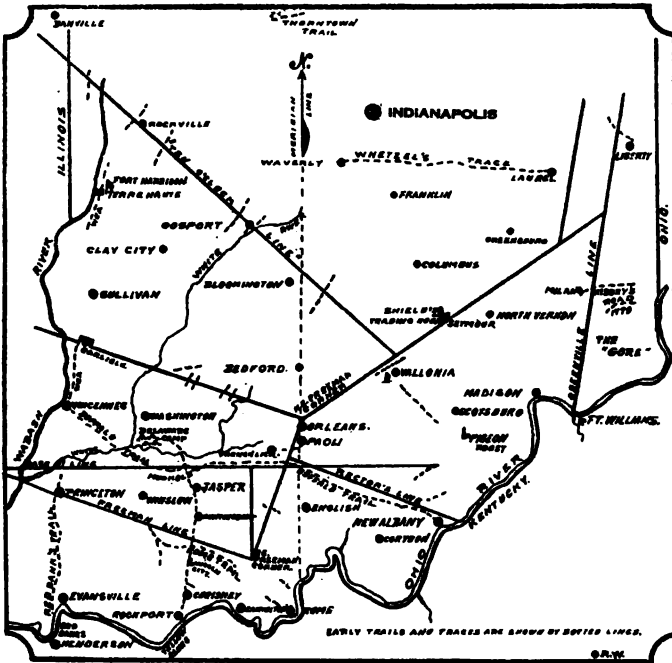


PLATE 3.

The broken lines in the map above represent the old trails as indicated on the maps of the government surveyors. Local tradition, the topography, roads long in use, military orders and letters or descriptions written by early travelers all prove the records, and by a general knowledge these known points may be united and a fairly good map of the early roads would result.

topography, or circumstantial evidence. A careful pioneer draughtsman saw that his map indicated the trails, while an indifferent one produced a fairly good plat with the trails omitted as of no permanent value or interest. All this must be taken into consideration when forming a conclusion. The surveyors' ranges are six miles wide, and while one surveyor may have omitted recording a trail through his range, the other ones, joining him made a record of it, thus the general trend is found, beyond the shadow of a doubt. Traces were recorded on the maps as guides to men who desired to buy land without seeing it, and for military purposes.³⁹

On some of these trails "houses of entertainment" were erected by private or public enterprise.⁴⁰

THE BUFFALO TRACE.

In pioneer days the line of least resistance was the line of travel, hence streams were the lines of travel, when possible.⁴¹ When streams did not lead to the desired destination, forest paths were used. In time these became bridle paths, sled roads, wagon roads, etc. Thus animal paths, Indian trails, military roads, etc., became highways. When it was possible these old paths were on ridges, and usually watersheds. Settlements were made on these paths, and eventually the line of travel became the line of intelligence. Men and animals did not travel in straight lines, for they preferred a sure footing and a hard path to water and swamps.

The Buffalo trace, "spacious enough for two wagons to go

³⁹ Brown's *Western Gazetteer* (1817), p. 44, p. 62; Barnes' *United States History*, p. 159.

⁴⁰ Petitions to Congress, 1800-1802. Indiana Historical Society's Publication 2, pp. 455-470; American State Papers, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 688.

⁴¹ Smith's *"Early Indiana Trials and Sketches,"* p. 116.

abreast," was the one big overland highway in southern Indiana. It was so prominent that it was used as a basis from which to locate a treaty line between General William Henry Harrison and the Indians, in 1804. The treaty in question referred to the trace as the boundary line, but since it was a line of travel it made an inconvenient treaty line. The treaty reads: "And as it is the intention of the parties to these presents that the whole of the said road shall be within the tract ceded to the United States, it is agreed that the boundary in that quarter shall be a straight line, to be drawn parallel to the course of the said road, from the eastern boundary of the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne, to Clark's Grant, but the said line is not to pass at a greater distance than half a mile from the most northerly bend in said road."⁴²

In order to locate this straight line, as called for by the treaty, it was necessary to first survey the old trace by chain and compass, which was done, and these "calls" having been made a matter of official record, enable us to locate definitely the old trace for a distance of nearly forty-four miles.⁴³ The survey of the old "Vincennes trail," or "Buffalo trace" was begun July 11, 1805, by Surveyor William Rector. It began at the "Parker Improvements" on the west line of Clark's Grant, and about one and one-half miles from the Ohio river. It crossed the east fork of Buck creek about three and one-half miles from "Parker's Improvement." Nine miles from Clark's Grant there was a "cabin near the spring."

The trace crossed Indian creek. At each mile along the trace Surveyor Rector marked trees thus: "To C. G. 26 mi.," etc., as the distance might be. It meant "To Clarks Grant, — miles." On July 15, 1895, he camped at Sullivan's Spring,

⁴² American State Papers, Class 2, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 689 and 690; Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 70, 71 and 72.

⁴³ *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana*, p. 31; *Smith's Indiana*, Vol. 1, pp. 163, 165, 230, 232, 235-239; *Dillon's Indiana*, p. 419.

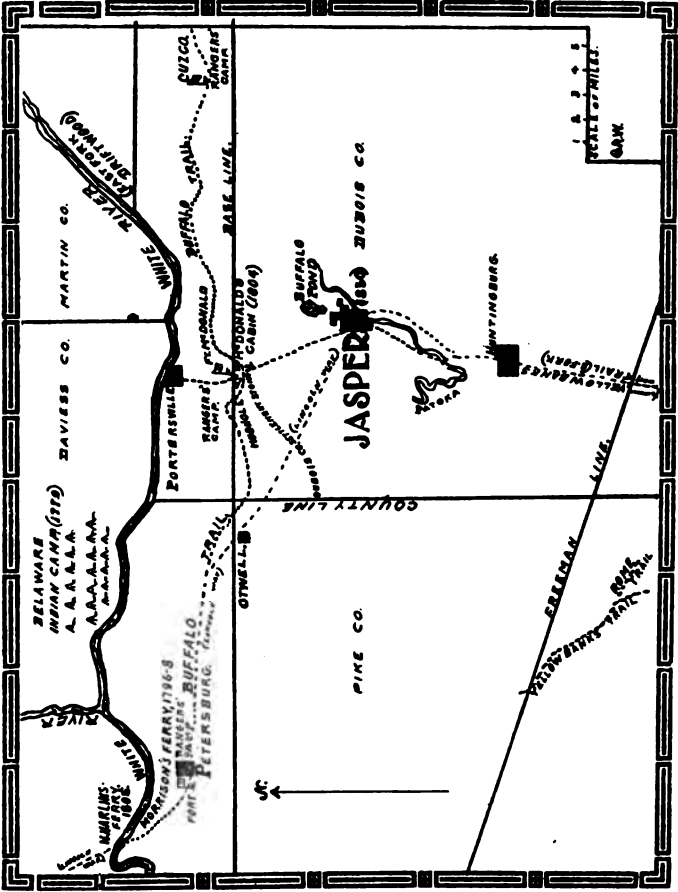


PLATE 4

about thirty-one and one-eighth miles from Clark's Grant. The record shows that Samuel Hay lived on the west bank of Little Blue river, about thirty-four and one-fourth miles from Clark's Grant, and where the trace crossed the river. There was a "whet stone cave" on the trace forty-three miles and seven chains from Clark's Grant. This was near where the trace entered the Vincennes tract, and not far from French Lick Springs.⁴⁴

Through the Vincennes tract, covering a distance of about sixty miles, the location of the trace may be officially determined, at sixty points, or more. The surveyors who subdivided the tract into sections made a record showing how far the trace was from a nearby section corner, thus the entire trace through Indiana may be determined.

After entering the Vincennes tract south of Paoli, the trace practically follows Buckingham's base line through Columbia, Harbison and Boone townships, in Dubois county, and west in Pike county, until it reaches Petersburg, Indiana, then it goes northwest to Vincennes, crossing White river at "N. Harlin's ferry," at the range line, six miles west of the fork of White river.⁴⁵

In Dubois county the animals wallowed in the mud at the

⁴⁴ State Geologist's Report (Cox) 1875, pp. 226-230; Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, pp. 37-46, State Auditor's Office; Esarey's *History of Indiana*, p. 145; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, pp. 190 and 262; Vol. 3, p. 97.

⁴⁵ Plat Book 5, p. 27; Indianapolis News, 1915; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 208, 490 and 525; Record 9, pp. 403, 411 and 425 N. & W., State Auditor's Office; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 403 and 419; History of Pike and Dubois Counties, pp. 475 and 476; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, pp. 383-389; "The Public Domain and its Surveys," p. 9; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 27, 31 and 163; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 341-345; The Western Gazetteer, 1817, p. 40.

famous "Mudhole," and found water and cane at the Buffalo pond two miles northeast of Jasper. The surveyor's map which locates and names this pond also locates the Mudholes and McDonald's cabin. Some of the buffalo wallows were upon the farm now owned by John Mehne, of Dubois county. To this

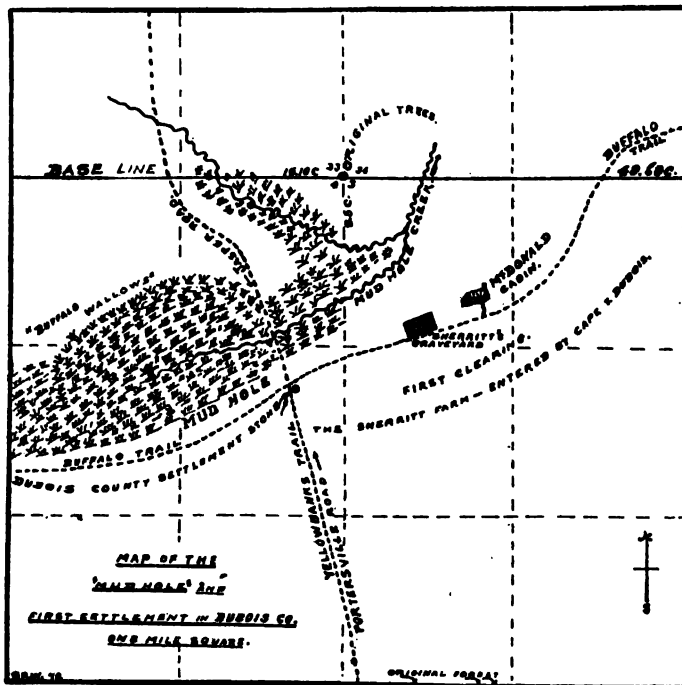


PLATE 5.

day buffalo bones are occasionally found in the marshes on this farm.

Fort MacDonald, at the Mudholes, was a stopping place for travelers, one night out of Princeton. In an early volume

known as "Hulme's Journal of a Visit to the Western Countries," in speaking of traveling out of Princeton, Indiana, he says: "We spent the first night at a place very appropriately called Mudholes, a sort of fort for guarding against Indians."

The Buffalo traces were of no mean consideration in early Indiana life. The buffalo was a large, heavy animal with a comparatively small foot. He could not cross low, swampy, marshy land, and being gregarious, he could not remain long in one place, for hundreds and sometimes thousands of them ranged together. Their pastures vanished rapidly, and they had to move frequently. Buffalo roads, therefore, were very definitely marked and well beaten. The Miami Indian name for a "buffalo road" was "Lan-an-zo-ki-mi-wi.

The small feet of these animals, along with their heavy bodies, necessitated their roads following the highlands—indeed the ridges, or watersheds.⁴⁶ The Indians followed these trails because they were open, and occasionally furnished game. When the white man came as an explorer, hunter or settler, he followed these lines of least resistance. The buffalo avoided the hill and the swamp, and therefore took the ridge or the valley. He was a good civil engineer and path-finder. In fact he found the road and man followed in his footsteps.⁴⁷

But a little more than a hundred years ago, vast herds of buffaloes grazed over the plains and prairies of Indiana during the summer season. They were few in the timber-lands, but numberless on the plains and prairies. In spring they came north from Kentucky into Indiana and covered the plains in

⁴⁶ Venable's *"Footprints of the Pioneers,"* pp. 69 and 70; History of Pike and Dubois Counties, pp. 245 and 246.

⁴⁷ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 25, 31, 101 and 346; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, pp. 383 and 384, Vol. 6, pp. 291-296 (map); for a good description of the buffalo, read pp. 427 and 428, Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*.

great armies, then, as winter approached, retreated to the borders of the large rivers where they sheltered in the forest and fed upon the boundless fields of wild cane.⁴⁸

As the buffaloes moved back and forth in spring and fall, they so beat down the earth that their traces still remain, particularly in Floyd and Orange counties. The tall grass of the prairies was divided by paths made by the buffaloes as they grazed in long, unbroken lines. These small trails that checked the prairies all led into one great trail made in their journeyings to and from the pasture lands. Colonel Croghan, an efficient officer, wrote that the country was full of buffaloes.

That the buffalo was a common ranger in southern Indiana is recalled by the fact that Colonel Archibald Loughery's men, in 1790, were dressing a buffalo, near the corner of Ohio and Dearborn counties, on the banks of the Ohio river, when they were ambushed by Indians, at what is now known as Loughery's creek. In the battle that ensued, in the river, nearly all the Americans (107) were killed or taken prisoners. This disaster was so severely felt that General Clark was compelled to abandon his contemplated attack on Detroit. A very little thing, on more than one occasion, has changed the boundaries of a nation.⁴⁹

The favorite winter resorts of the buffaloes that fed on the pasturage of Indiana were the Big Bone and Blue Licks of Kentucky. To these salt springs they came in armies too great to be numbered. The earth for miles around their meeting places was beaten bare by the hoofs of these restless hordes. Evidence of their former abundance (1784) is pre-

⁴⁸ Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 38.

⁴⁹ Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 85; Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, p. 192; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 173; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 61 and 126; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 1, p. 133, Vol. 2, pp. 107, 112, 126 and 159.

served in the swamps about the Big Bone Lick. In places their bones are massed to the depth of two feet or more, as close as the stones of a pavement, and so beaten down by succeeding herds as to make it difficult to lift them from their beds.

It is said that in their migrations they obstructed the Ohio river for miles. On his voyage down the Ohio, Colonel Croghan frequently wrote in his journal of the great herds of buffaloes seen by him.⁵⁰ It was told by the Indians that all the buffaloes of this region perished near the beginning of the last century. One winter the country was swept by a "great cold." The snow lay deep on the ground for many months, and the animals could find no food. The cold and snow continued until they all died, and long afterward their bones lay bleaching on the plains where they fell alone or in herds.

The buffalo, it seems, was worshipped by the Prairie Indians, and that gave missionary Mermet, at Vincennes, in or about 1702, an opportunity to lead the Indians from the Manitou, or Spirit of the buffalo, which was under the earth and animated all buffaloes, etc., to the idea that *men* ought to have a Manitou who inhabits them, etc. The missionary tried to lead the Indians, in this way, from the known to the unknown, in the way of religion. Whether he succeeded or not, the report proves that the buffalo had the sincere consideration of the Indian. The buffalo is remembered on the flag of Wyoming, on the flag of the Secretary of the Interior, and upon the five cent piece.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 18; Smith's *Indiana*, p. 163; Smith's "*Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*" under Daniel Boone, p. 468; Gen. Simon Kenton, in *Life of Daniel Boone*, by Edw. S. Ellis, pp. 217 and 218; *Daniel Boone and The Wilderness Road*, by Bruce, p. 110; *Stories of Columbia*, by Glascock, pp. 36, 51 and 138 to 148; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 84 and 401.

⁵¹ *The National Geographical Magazine*, October, 1917, pp. 334 and 335; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 116, 322, 520 and 521; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 22.

In some parts of Indiana the Indian trail and buffalo trace are the same. They were paths beaten by both, and for both they were public highways across the plains, or through the forest.⁵²

The trails and traces were great highways over which civilization came into the wilderness. Wild animals often followed the trails, trappers followed the game, and settlers followed the trappers. The backwoodsmen of the east came west, forded rivers, chose their resting place, and erected a palisade fort to protect their rude homes. Thus the west developed.⁵³ Each important trail was as well known to the Indians and emigrants as are the chief roads known to us. It was important that each new-comer should know the trail by which he came and the place to which it led. Outside of these there was little other than a trackless wood, and for many years after the first settlements were formed these remained the gateways to the west. For many years the pack horses came over the trail along the Ohio from its fall to Vincennes on the Wabash. Both the French and the English pushed into the interior over the trail from Vincennes to Lafayette.

In 1788, General Harmar and his army traveled over this Buffalo trace, traveling the 130 miles in six days. He observed that the country was hilly, but excellent for wheat, an observation now known to be true.⁵⁴

Along these trails the emigrants traveled in search of land on which to settle, and fur traders carried their furs to market. Along these pack horses threaded their way, loaded with simple articles precious to the pioneers. Along these there came

⁵² History of Pike and Dubois Counties, p. 271.

⁵³ Burton's *United States History*, pp. 176 and 177. Read "*On The We-a Trail*," a novel by Caroline Brown.

⁵⁴ Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 98.

the power that conquered the wilderness and compelled it to yield up its hidden wealth to enrich humanity.⁵⁵

Many people from Virginia, Maryland and the farther east took passage on steamboats at Pittsburg and stopped at the Falls. The Buffalo trace led west from there, and soon became a prominent line of travel. It became a practical outlet to the west.

The old trace that crossed the Ohio river at Louisville, Kentucky, known to the white people as the Clarksville and Vincennes trace, that had been a main traveled way from time immemorial, was the most favored route, and two-thirds of all the early settlers who came to southern Indiana, west of Louisville, came over that route. On a second visit to Vincennes, in 1786, after his famous capture of that post, General Clark marched about 1,000 men over the Buffalo trace, from the Falls of the Ohio to Vincennes. This was in 1786, and after he had conquered the great Northwest and given an empire to his country.⁵⁶

The first post office in Pike county (Petersburg, Indiana) was in charge of Hosea Smith at White Oak Springs, in 1811. Smith was postmaster, surveyor, justice of the peace, mer-

⁵⁵ *History of Indiana*, by Goodrich and Tuttle, pp. 17, 18 and 45; Glascock's *Young Folks' Indiana*, pp. 159-161; "The Pioneer Women," in *Pike County Democrat*, March 10, 1916, written by Mrs. S. W. Chappell; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 187; *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. 4, p. 311; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 95, 98 and 245; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 18 and 19; Venable's "Footprints of the Pioneers," pp. 70 and 71.

⁵⁶ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 232, 291; Brown's "Western Gazetteer" (1817), pp. 62, 63 and 77; Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, pp. 170, 202 and 203; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 185; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 95; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 18, 61, 63, 157, 215 and 556; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 27, 31, 100, 158 and 163.

chant and farmer. The office was on an old Indian trace leading from Vincennes to Louisville. The road led from White river, at Decker's Ferry, White Oak Springs, Mudholes, near Ireland, Dubois county, (south of) French Lick, Paoli, to Louisville. George Teverbaugh carried the mail over this route once a week on foot; however, Mathias Mounts was the first carrier. When Indiana became a territory "the mode of communication between the Ohio Falls, Vincennes and the farther western stations was along this old Indian trace connecting these places, which had been there from time immemorial."⁵⁷

The stage coach followed on the trail of the pioneers. Early in the spring of 1820 a Mr. Foyles started a stage line from Louisville to Vincennes. The advertisement stated that it was the first line to be established in the state. This is perhaps true. The trace from Louisville to Vincennes is the oldest in the state. At first it ran along the boundary between Crawford and Orange counties following the south bank of Driftwood and crossing White river north of Petersburg But the settlement of the towns of Washington, Mt. Pleasant, Hindostan and Paoli caused most travelers to go by the northern route. It was over these routes that Foyles established his stage line, using whichever road seemed best.⁵⁸ The east

⁵⁷ Goodspeed Brothers' *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, 1885, p. 251; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 132 and 169; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, p. 366, Vol. 6, see map, p. 296; (see Vol. 3, p. 116, for Decker's Ferry license).

⁵⁸ Esarey's *History of Indiana*, 1915, pp. 246 and 261; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 27; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 348. McCoy's "*Tippecanoe*," p. 130. Mail was carried from Vincennes to Louisville. See "*Tippecanoe*," p. 145. Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 5, pp. 56 and 112; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 138 and 142, 236 and 237, 256 and 257, 274, 279 and 294; *The Western Gazetteer* (1817), pp. 38, 40-44.

fork of White river used to be called "Driftwood," also the "Muddy fork."

The old Buffalo trace was patrolled by rangers to protect the emigrants. The rangers of 1807 were foot soldiers; those of 1812 were mounted. On April 20, 1807, these orders were issued at Vincennes: "You are to patrol the old Indian trace that leads from this place to Clarksville, on the Ohio river, from a point where this old road crosses White river and going as far as thirty-five miles east of the Mudholes."⁵⁹

The Mudholes was on the Portersville and Jasper road, and thirty-five miles east would reach the rangers' camp where the Blue river trace intersects this trace, or where the rangers of General John Tipton began.⁶⁰ The Buffalo trace crossed White river at N. Harlan's ferry, six miles west of where the river forks. That would make the patrol cover fifty-five miles. The trace received unusual attention in the way of military patrols, and a good guard was kept at White Oak Springs (Petersburg) on the trace for a long time.⁶¹ Horse stealing by the Indians had to be guarded against very carefully. Sergeant Hogue was a scout on the trace.

The paper upon which was printed an early territorial code of Indiana (1807) was carried over the Buffalo trace from Georgetown, Kentucky.⁶²

The rangers on the old Buffalo trace had a camp at Mil-

⁵⁹ *Readings in Indiana History*, p. 99.

⁶⁰ General John Tipton, in Smith's "*Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*," p. 478; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 202, 203, 228 and 371.

⁶¹ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 200, 204, 206, 208, 371 and 372; same, 210, 228 and 229; Montgomery's *Life of Harrison*, p. 70; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, p. 369.

⁶² Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 421; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, p. 84; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, pp. 17 and 143.

burn's Springs, at Cuzco, in Dubois county. Dubois county was settled at the Mudholes, by the McDonald family, and its first courts were held at the McDonald cabin. The cabin had been erected before 1804, for its location is indicated upon the survey maps of 1804.⁶³

In 1807 or 1808, the Gurney family, of Jefferson county, Kentucky, came into Dubois and Pike counties over the old Buffalo trace, going as far west as White Oak Springs, now known as Petersburg. Woolsey Pride had built a fort there. The rangers protected the family on its trip to the fort, and the family was instructed by General Harrison to remain at the fort until the Indians had quieted down. Gurney disobeyed orders, and started back saying he was going to the Mudholes. He and his family did not go to the Mudholes, but went near Velpen, and in time the father and son were killed by panthers. One day John and William McDonald, who had a home at the Mudholes, found Mrs. Gurney and her little daughter who were trying to find the "Kentucky road." (This is the Buffalo trace.) The McDonalds took care of the wanderers, and in time got them back into Kentucky.⁶⁴

These McDonalds had many fights with the Indians, and in one case with several Indians who had taken two white women and two children as prisoners, in Kentucky. Following the Yellow Banks trail to the Buffalo trace, they stole McDonald's horse, and went on east, or southeast. Probably they had started for an Indian cave west of the town of Dubois.⁶⁵ The Indians were overtaken by the McDonalds, Enlows, and

⁶³ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 352 and 353; Plat Book 5, p. 27, State Auditor's Office. Samuel McCoy's novel, "*Tippecanoe*," p. 129.

⁶⁴ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 207, 208, 221 and 222; 486 and 487; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 27; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 439.

⁶⁵ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 69 and 87.

others. Eight Indians were killed, and their captives liberated. This Indian battle took place on Patoka river west of the town of Dubois.⁶⁶

In 1807, a pioneer by the name of Larkins was killed by the Indians, near where the Buffalo trace crosses the county line between Dubois and Pike counties. His wife and five children were taken into captivity.

Many narrow escapes are recorded as having taken place along these Indian trails. Even the government surveyors had to be on their guard. Panthers were constantly to be guarded against. They seem to have been in the habit of crouching upon the limbs overhanging the trails. These wild animals were as dangerous as the Indians.⁶⁷

Occasionally the Indians had a reason to be vicious. Many of the settlers, like the uncle of Abraham Lincoln, thought it a virtuous act to shoot an Indian at sight. In fact the murder of Indians was not considered murder at all.⁶⁸

In 1807, Captain Hargrove's rangers captured a British spy on the Buffalo trace, and sent him to the fort at Vincennes. The spy may have been holding conferences with the Indians, for the battle of Tippecanoe, and the War of 1812 were "in the making."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 180, 201, 203, 206, 234, 496 and 499.

⁶⁷ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 111, 119, 156, 208, 221, 371, 441, 464, 482, 485, 488 and 489; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, pp. 47 and 261; *History of Indiana*, by Goodrich and Tuttle, p. 54. For a description of the panther's acts, see pp. 156-157 "Tippecanoe."

⁶⁸ Henry Adams' *United States History*, Volume 6, p. 72; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, p. 232; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, p. 482; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 173, 204 and 205; Dillon's *Indiana*, note on page 112, note page 424.

⁶⁹ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 219, 220 and 224; *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, p. 336. Read "On The We-a Trail," a novel, by Caroline Brown.

With all this wild animal and Indian danger hundreds of families, Indians, colored slaves and prominent pioneer statesmen traveled over this old route. In 1799, Judge Jacob Burnet, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and a Mr. Morrison traveled over this road and had a thrilling experience. They met Indians, buffaloes, wild cats, panthers, etc., but arrived at Vincennes in four days after leaving the Falls of the Ohio. They were on horseback. A tavern keeper on the New Albany and Vincennes road stated that upwards of 5,000 souls had passed his tavern on their way to Missouri during the year 1819.

A pioneer whose name was Morrison conducted a ferry across White river at Tanner's Station, at or near Petersburg between 1796-1798. Later he moved to Aurora, Indiana.⁷⁰

A study of the "Knobs" near New Albany, and a knowledge of the old Buffalo trace enables one to understand the seal of Indiana.⁷¹

In 1915, the legislature of Indiana authorized the Governor to appoint a commission to determine the route traveled by Abraham Lincoln and his father's family when they moved from Indiana to Illinois, in 1830. Governor Ralston appointed Hon. Joseph M. Cravens, of Madison, and Hon. Jesse W. Weik, of Greencastle, as the commission. On December 15, 1916, the commission reported that "they [the Lincolns] moved northward through Dale to Jasper, thence northwardly through the villages of Ireland, Otwell and Algiers to Petersburg, at or near which place they crossed White river

⁷⁰ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, p. 366; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 143, 145, 180 and 245; Burnett's Notes, pp. 72-75; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, p. 190, Vol. 2, p. 366.

⁷¹ Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana, p. 71; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 132, 134, 141 and 163; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 35; Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*" (1817), p. 44.

and then pushed on to Vincennes, by the most direct route." The road from Lincoln City to Jasper was a branch of the "Yellow Banks trail," the road from Jasper to near Otwell was a branch of the Buffalo trail, and the road from near Otwell to Vincennes was the Buffalo trail. The county commissioners' courts of the various counties have named the above route the "LINCOLN WAY."⁷²

Many pioneer forts were built along the old Buffalo trace, or near it. There was a fort at Petersburg. Ft. McDonald, at the Mudholes, and Ft. Butler and Ft. Farris, near by, were in Dubois county. There was a rangers' camp at Cuzco, in Dubois county, equi-distant between Vincennes and Louisville, and one at Blue river where the old trace crossed the river.⁷³ Northwest of Cuzco General Harrison improved the old trace. Logs used in the improvement yet remain under the road bed. Old graves are near the camp at Cuzco.

On October 9, 1834, this appeared in the Paoli Patriot: "We presume not less than one hundred and fifty wagons have passed through this village in the last two weeks." That indicates the line of travel and the amount of travel.⁷⁴

In Dubois county, where the Yellow Banks trail crosses the Buffalo trail, a marker is being placed. It is of Bedford

⁷² Report of the Lincoln Highway Commission, 1916, pp. 4 and 17; "The Lincoln Way," Illinois State Historical Library, Reports of 1913 and 1915; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, p. 366; See "N. Harlan's Ferry," hereinafter; Governor's Message to the General Assembly of 1917. Records of Commissioners' Courts, 1917.

⁷³ Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 190, 198, 205 and 207; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 29, 27, 74, 108, 162, 284; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 2, pp. 131 and 197; History of Pike and Dubois Counties, pp. 478 and 482.

⁷⁴ Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 276; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 194 and 209; Brown's "*Western Gasetteer*," pp. 64 and 65.

stone, weighs 8,000 pounds, and is nearly nine feet high. The inscription reads as follows:

1801.

DUBOIS COUNTY SETTLEMENT STONE.

"The Mudholes on the Buffalo Trail."

This is the Oldest White Settlement in Dubois County. Here the McDonald Family Settled in 1801.

Erected by

GEO. R. WILSON, C. E.

1919.

VALLONIA TRACE.

On the Indian trace between Vallonia, the primitive and temporary county seat of Jackson county, and the old town of Springville, in Clark county, stands a log cabin known as the "Aaron Burr cabin." It is about one and one-half miles southeast from where the old fort stood at Vallonia.⁷⁵ Tradition records Aaron Burr as having stayed there one night during his famous conspiracy days of 1806. The occupant may have been some poor misguided follower of Colonel Burr.⁷⁶ The cabin is fairly well preserved. In 1807, the people about the Ohio Falls were much agitated over the unpatriotic movements of Aaron Burr. Boats had been built at the Falls under his direction, and a large drove of horses were at hand.⁷⁷ General Harrison instructed his militia commanders to assist these misguided followers of Burr to find homes in the wilderness, and give them military protection on the

⁷⁵ Clarence L. W. Turmail, Vallonia, Indiana.

⁷⁶ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 213, 219, 471 and 472.

⁷⁷ *History of Indiana*, by Goodrich and Tuttle, p. 141; Barnes' *United States History*, note on page 157.

theory that they would "make as good citizens as any."⁷⁸ There were many Burr followers in the northern part of Perry, Spencer and Warrick counties.

Not far from Vallonia, General John Tipton fought a fierce battle with the Indians.⁷⁹

After the Pigeon Roost Massacre, in Scott county, in September, 1812, a large force of the Clark county militia gathered from the vicinity of Charlestown to pursue the Indians. The militia pursued the savages along this old trail until where it crossed the Muskackituck. This river was so much swollen that the militia could not effect a crossing, and it was compelled to give up the pursuit. This massacre and the Indian attack on Fort Harrison were synchronical, both September 3, 1812.⁸⁰

Vallonia has an Indian history interesting in itself, not to mention its prominence in pioneer days along other lines.⁸¹

BLUE RIVER TRACE.

There was an Indian trace near the mouth of Blue river, at Fredonia. Many of the emigrants that came over this trace

⁷⁸ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 213, 214, 373 and 471; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 3, note foot of p. 177; also Vol. 2, pp. 24 and 75; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 177, 178 and 246; "An Historic Cabin," in Jackson County Democrat, 1852; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 431 and 432; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 177 and 246.

⁷⁹ Battle of Tipton's Island, Indianapolis News, July, 1913; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 199 and 200.

⁸⁰ Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 2, pp. 128-134; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 354, 355, 360 and 440; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 491-494; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 193; Indiana and Indianans, Vol. 1, p. 93.

⁸¹ Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 521-525; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 49.

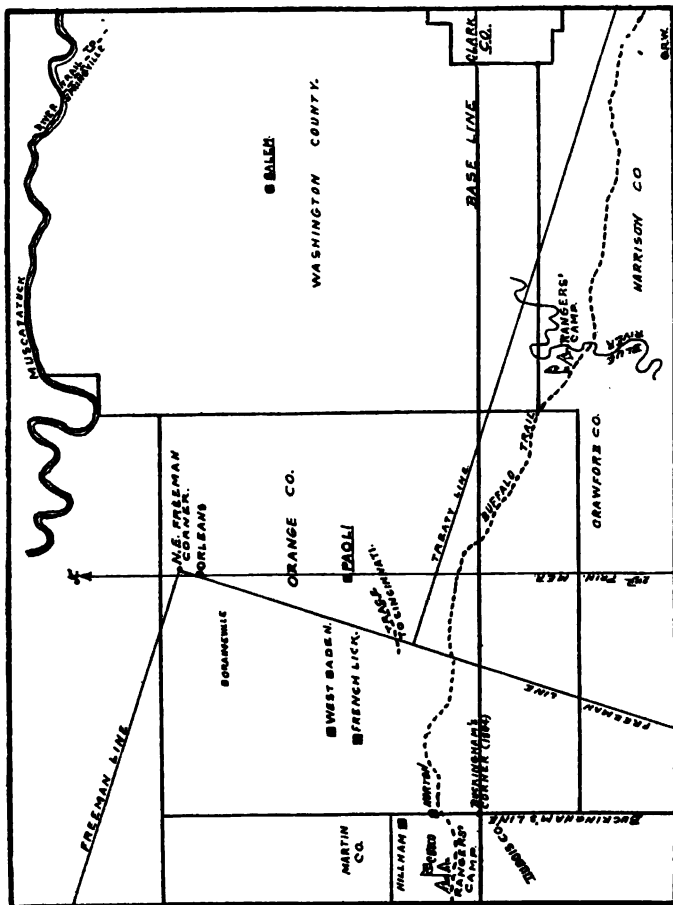


PLATE 6.

found a forest home in Harrison and Washington counties.⁸² This trace led from the Ohio river to the Buffalo trace, probably near Hardinsburg and on north. A short distance west of Blue river, on the Buffalo trace, there was a rangers' camp. Here the Buffalo trace rangers had a division. The eastern division was in charge of John Tipton, afterward a United States senator. The men on the western division were commanded by Captain William Hargrove, a pioneer settler of Gibson county. He was born in South Carolina, in 1775, and served as an Indian scout in Kentucky. He saw service at Tippecanoe, and died in 1843. He lived near Princeton, where his descendants are prominent unto this day. It is quite likely the division was near the junction of the Blue river and the Buffalo trace, once a corner of Clark and Knox counties, (1801).⁸³

In General Harrison's order of September 1, 1807, to "William Hargrove, commanding first division of rangers, east of the Wabash river," we read: "There has been a trace cut from the Clarksville and Vincennes road that leaves that route at a point about forty miles east of the Mudholes and running south, coming to the Ohio river at the west end of a large bend three miles west of the mouth of Blue river. There is a traveled way that comes to the south bank of the Ohio opposite this point that runs to the south and far into Kentucky, and people coming to this and other sections of Indiana territory are crossing the river at that point and following Blue river to the old Indian road before mentioned. The two traces to the

⁸² Cockrum's *Pioneer Indiana*, pp. 157, 372 and 485. McCoy's novel, "*Tippecanoe*," p. 145.

⁸³ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 203, 223, 349, 350 and 485; Executive Journal, Indiana Territory, p. 2; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 3, pp. 97 and 174, General Tipton, born in Tennessee, 1786; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 143 to 145.

east which are now being opened should go into this Blue river trace.”⁸⁴ This trace ran from Fredonia to where the Blue river trace intersected the Buffalo trace, near Samuel Hay’s cabin on the west bank of Little Blue river, about thirty-four and one-fourth miles from Clark’s Grant.⁸⁵ The Mud-holes were two miles south of Portersville, in Dubois county.⁸⁶ A road, locally known as the “Fredonia road,” led to the west from Fredonia.

In an advertisement which appeared in the Vincennes Sun, June 6, 1818, Fredonia town lots were offered for sale. These words appear in the notice: “A most excellent road can be had and will be opened shortly to Paoli,” etc.

In Cockrum’s *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pages 482-485, a story is related of Indian and panther fights, typical of many related by the pioneers. This particular story relates to the Buffalo and Blue river traces, etc.

YELLOW BANKS TRAIL.

An Indian trail known as the “Yellow Banks trail” started from the Ohio river, at Rockport, and ran north through Spencer, Warrick and Pike counties to the old Delaware Indian summer camp at the forks of White river. This Indian town was the camp of some Delaware Indians that the Piankeshaws had permitted to settle there. The Delawares plundered some traders on the old Buffalo trace, and Captain Helm, under orders from General Clark, destroyed the town. This was in 1779.

There were some far-seeing men in the main body of the

⁸⁴ Cockrum’s *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 215.

⁸⁵ Miscellaneous Record, Indiana, pp. 37-46.

⁸⁶ Plat Book 5, p. 27, State Auditor’s Office; Esarey’s *Indiana*, p. 246.

Delaware Indians, of which nation the Delaware Indians in southern Indiana were a part. An early American Congress, at the request of friendly Delaware Indians, promised to send to them "a suitable minister," "a schoolmaster," and "a sober man," to instruct them in the Christian religion, in letters, and in agriculture and other branches of useful knowledge.⁸⁷

A fork of the Yellow Banks trail entered Dubois county just north of Dale, and went north to Portersville, and into Daviess county. Settlements made in Dubois county previous to 1830 indicate its location.⁸⁸ The trail from the forks of White river south to Yellow Banks (below Rockport) was patrolled once each week by three soldiers and one scout. It is likely Scout FuQuay served on this route. They were to protect emigrants and report any Indian troubles, etc. Governor Harrison issued such an order to Captain William Hargrove, April 29, 1807.

The Delaware Indians called Yellow Banks "Weesoe Wusapinuk." "Yellow Banks" were so named by reason of the color of the river banks, at Owensboro, Kentucky.⁸⁹

Very likely this trail crossed the Buffalo trace in the environs of Otwell, perhaps near the three mounds north of Otwell, for they would be a natural landmark.⁹⁰ In time a military road was cut out from the crossing toward New Albany by way of the Indian ford across Patoka river, at Jasper. This

⁸⁷ Indian camps along White River, see Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*," p. 65; Dillon's *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, pp. 110, 111, 181 and 182; Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 164 and 165; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 79 and 246; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 58, 59, 127, 156, 167, 172, 477 and 478.

⁸⁸ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 158.

⁸⁹ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 205, 206 and 214; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 2, p. 131, Vol. 6, pp. 290 and 296; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 27.

⁹⁰ History of Pike and Dubois Counties, p. 270.

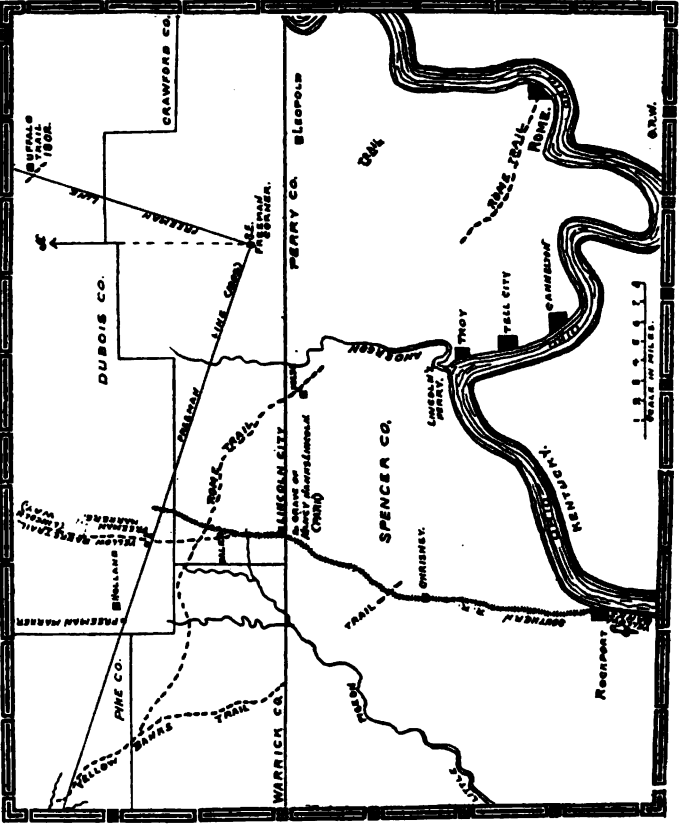


PLATE 7.

may have started from a stockade ordered built, July 11, 1812, or perhaps the stockade was ordered built at the junction of these two routes.⁹¹ The Rome trail united with the Yellow Banks trail near Selvin.⁹² In his order to have a military road cut out, General Harrison, on August 20, 1807, wrote Captain Hargrove as follows:

"The trace just south of the Patoka river opened some time ago, will be extended from the Yellow Banks trace, thirty or forty miles east. You had better have the same men go over this route as soon as Severns is through with the new survey farther south. Mr. Severns says that in going near the Patoka river many abrupt banks and deep gorges are met with. Inform him that it is not necessary to make a straight line but to blaze and mark it that it can be easily traced. It is not intended for wheeled vehicles or sleds to pass over but for foot soldiers only. The logs need not be moved but the brush had better be cut seven or eight feet wide."⁹³

Thus the old Indian traces running north and south were to be crossed by military roads running east and west, between the Ohio river and the Buffalo trace. These military roads were supplied with a patrol of two men and a scout.⁹⁴ John Severns, mentioned hereinbefore, had been living with and near the Indians, was acquainted with them, could talk their dialects, and had been a scout through all lands drained by the White and Patoka rivers.

John FuQuay, a scout, told General Gibson, Secretary for Indiana Territory, in 1802, when asked if it would be safe to survey the land between the Ohio and White rivers, that:

⁹¹ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp 215, 216 and 349.

⁹² Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 179, 212 and 215; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 207.

⁹³ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 215.

⁹⁴ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 166 and 216.

"There is an old Indian trace running from the Yellow Banks to the headquarters of the Little Pigeon, where there has been a large Indian town, then in a northwesterly direction to a large spring, then along the spring branch to little Patoka, and it crosses the large Patoka at a good ford and continues to the forks of White river."⁹⁵ It is thought the spring mentioned is "Honey Spring," about two miles east of Pleasantville, in Pike county, the place where an Indian fight occurred in 1792.

Since Thomas Freeman was running the lines of the Vincennes tract, in 1802, and passed through this very locality, it is quite likely that the scout's report referred to Freeman's work. The division of the land into sections came during and after 1804. Freeman crossed the Indian trail in his survey, and recorded it as 31 miles and 41 chains from the mouth of White river. Near by was a trappers' coal bank. Freeman recorded indications of coal at several points near the trail⁹⁶ The government surveyors who sub-divided the land within the Freeman lines do not seem to have made any record of the Yellow Banks trail, but those who worked south of the south Freeman line made a fairly good record of it almost to Gentryville. The Rome trace and the Yellow Banks trail joined near the southwest corner of Dubois county. The government surveyors' records of Ranges 6 and 7, south and west, show this. They also show where a trace crossed north of Chrisney, not far from where the remains of Sarah Lincoln Grigsby, the only sister of Abraham Lincoln, lie buried, in the Old Pigeon Cemetery.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 175 and 177.

⁹⁶ Miscellaneous Record 1, Indiana, pp. 18 and 19; Executive Journal, Indiana Territory, p. 5; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 177 and 178; The "Vincennes tract" was an Indian gift to the French, Dillon's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 402 and 403.

⁹⁷ Holland's *Lincoln*, p. 38; Monument erected in 1916; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 506.

From this Yellow Banks trail, a pioneer road ran from near Gentryville to the mouth of Anderson river. This might be called the "Lincoln trace," for it was the route taken by Thomas Lincoln when he came to Indiana from Kentucky, in 1816.⁹⁸ By landing at the mouth of Anderson river and trailing northwest across Spencer county to Lincoln City, Lincoln shortened his mileage by both water and land. A pioneer road had been previously cut out for a large part of the way.

Some pioneers who came to Dubois county floated down the Ohio river to Rockport, followed the Yellow Banks trail to the Freeman line, then trailed along that line to their Indiana home.⁹⁹

The Indians used the Yellow Banks trail, or part of it, in some of their attacks upon white people. The Indians were on or near the lines leading from their towns on White river to the Ohio river most of the time in spring, summer and fall months. In an order issued by General Harrison, on Sunday, July 12, 1807, he mentions that a band of twelve Indians were going south from the forks of White river, in such a way as to strike the Ohio as near as they could at the mouth of Greene river. Captain Hargrove, to whom the order was addressed, was on duty on the Buffalo trace. General Harrison said: "It is hard to determine where they will cross the old Indian road that you are on, but some place between the Mudhole [in Dubois county] and the White Oak Springs fort [Petersburg]. The people at that fort must be advised. You have the authority to secure as many men for temporary service from the White Oak Springs fort as they can spare. You must

⁹⁸ Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 25 and 26; The University Society's *Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 24; Herndon & Weik's *Lincoln*, Vol. 1, p. 17; Barrett's *Lincoln*, p. 22; Nicolay's *Lincoln*, p. 7; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 474; Venable's *"Footprints of Pioneers,"* p. 108.

⁹⁹ Rev. Anthony Michel, of Ireland, Indiana.

have the section all along the fifteen miles to the east thoroughly patrolled," etc.¹⁰⁰ The protection to the east was for the benefit of the McDonald settlement at the Mudhole, south of Portersville, in Dubois county. The fort mentioned above is still standing at Petersburg, Indiana. The "Springs" were in section 27, on the old Buffalo trace.¹⁰¹

General Harrison in the same order also said: "There will be thirty mounted men from this Post [Vincennes] sent to the south of you who will patrol along and near to the Patoka river, with scouts at the different fords on that river. With all this vigilance I feel sure that the Indian band will be destroyed or turned back."¹⁰²

These orders established a trail through Pike county from the south, even if not observed or noted by the government surveyors, in 1804. It may have been a "dry weather trail." Colonel Hargrove and four other men named by the General Assembly of Indiana, on December 21, 1816, to fix a seat of justice for Pike county, on February 15, 1817, made a report selecting Petersburg. In this report they say: "We would willingly have examined that part of the county south of Patoka had the season and weather admitted of it."¹⁰³

Patoka river seems to have been a natural home of the beaver, an animal very fond of water, and valued by Indians. Even to-day many signs of old beaver dams may be seen.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 149, 167, 210 and 211.

¹⁰¹ Plat Book 5, p. 157, State Auditor's Office; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 2, p. 131.

¹⁰² Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 211.

¹⁰³ History of Pike and Dubois Counties, pp. 273, 274 and 336.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 86; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 106, 118, 177 and 444; Smith's "*Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*," p. 449; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 5, pp. 317 and 395; Morris Birkbeck's "Notes," etc., p. 130; Indiana and Indianans, p. 58; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 1, p. 126.

Scouts were kept on guard along the Yellow Banks as late as October 28, 1807. The scout, FuQuay, was one of the most trusted men in General Harrison's employ.¹⁰⁵

General Harrison made every effort possible to induce the misguided followers of Aaron Burr to settle in southern Indiana along these old Indian traces.¹⁰⁶

A fort or stockade stood near Selvin, in Warrick county, probably near the junction of the Rome and Yellow Banks trails. It is likely General Harrison referred to this junction when he wrote, October 4, 1807, as follows: "This is a very desirable place to have a strong fort. In making the building be sure that it is strongly put together, made out of large logs and that a stockade ten feet high be built that will enclose one acre of ground. In this enclosure can be erected a number of strong buildings that will safely protect fifty people. This will be a rallying point for all who may come later to that section." Captain Hargrove was collecting Burr refugees and getting them to settle along the various Indian traces and military roads.¹⁰⁷

In an advertisement which appeared in the Vincennes Sun of June 6, 1818, proclaiming the advantages of Rockport and offering Rockport town lots for sale, Rockport is described as being on the Ohio river "ten miles above the Yellow Banks." Captain W. H. Daniel, a well-known Ohio river pilot of Jas-

¹⁰⁵ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 207 and 223.

¹⁰⁶ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 176, 213, 216, 217, 218, 219, 471, 472 and 478; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, pp. 24 and 75.

¹⁰⁷ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 218, 226 and 472; Captain Hargrove was born in South Carolina, 1775; History of Gibson County, pp. 51, 154 and 219.

per, always referred to Owensboro, Kentucky, as "Yellow Banks."¹⁰⁸

When town lots at Portersville were offered for sale, July 20, 1818, by County Agent Niblack through an advertisement in the Vincennes Sun, Portersville was described as being on the main traveled route from Louisville, Corydon, to Vincennes, etc. This would indicate that people came from Corydon either by way of Paoli, and the Buffalo trace, or by way of the military road from Milltown to Enlow's Mill (Jasper), and thence north on the east fork of the Yellow Banks trail to Portersville.¹⁰⁹

RED BANKS TRAIL.

The left hand bank of the Ohio river at Henderson, Kentucky, was called "Red Banks." A trail led from Evansville to Vincennes and it was called the Red Banks trail.

The inhabitants of Vincennes, in 1800 and again in 1802, petitioned the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States concerning slavery and many other things of vital interest at that time. They asked that a law be enacted so that the governor could grant 400 acres of land to persons he may select, provided they erect "houses of entertainment," and open good wagon roads on the trails leading from Clark's Grant to Vincennes, from Vincennes to Henderson (Kentucky), etc. The "houses of entertainment" (forts or taverns) were not to exceed twenty miles apart. This indicates

¹⁰⁸ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 27; *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 11, No. 2, June, 1915, p. 104.

¹⁰⁹ Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 242 and 246; Vincennes Sun, of 1818; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 6, pp. 290, 296-297; "Western Sun," see Brown's *Western Gazetteer* (1817), p. 66.

the prominence of the Buffalo trace and the Red Banks trail.¹¹⁰ This idea was, in a measure, provided for in the treaty of Fort Wayne, 1803.¹¹¹

This old Red Banks trail was patrolled in pioneer days for the protection of settlers coming into Indiana. Captain William Hargrove, under orders from General Harrison, April 20, 1807, had charge of this line of work. His instructions were: "You will divide your force and form a squad of six men under a reliable man who will act as sergeant to patrol the main traveled way from your settlement south to the Ohio river, at Red Banks. Instruct the sergeant to make two trips each way every ten days. I will send a scout who will come with the men and carts that bring the supplies." The governor of Indiana territory granted a license to John A. Miller to conduct a ferry across Patoka river, at what is now Patoka, in Gibson county, on May 23, 1807.¹¹²

At one time the Indians had a battle with a boat crew at Red Banks, and a son of an Indian who lost his father in the fight had to be carefully guarded against to prevent him from leading an attack upon emigrants.¹¹³ Many of the emigrants that settled in the northern part of Vanderburg county and in the western part of Gibson county came over the Red Banks trail. Major Sprinkles lived on this old trail.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ For Henderson, see decorations, Seelbach Hotel, Louisville; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 4, p. 110, Vol. 6, pp. 291 and 296, Vol. 2, pp. 458 and 464.

¹¹¹ Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 64 and 65; Brown's *"Western Gazetteer,"* pp. 68, 69 and 70.

¹¹² Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 140; Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 204 and 502.

¹¹³ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 156 and 210. (Note: "Red Banks"—in Kentucky, opposite Range 11 west, in Indiana); *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 27, 182 to 187, 283.

¹¹⁴ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 220.

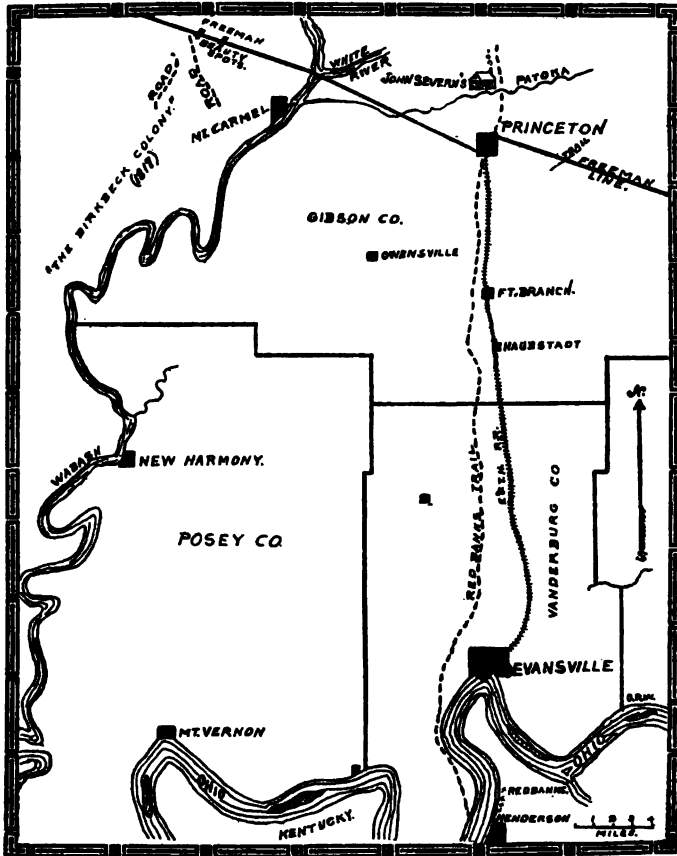


PLATE 8.

The Red Banks trail passed through the environs of Princeton, and a settlement there previous to 1802 caused the Freeman line to be deflected so as to embrace a triangle running from the mouth of White river to a point near the shops of the Southern railroad, thus including the settlements within white territory.¹¹⁵ Henderson, Kentucky, was formerly called "Red Banks."

There was an old Indian trail near the Ohio river, in Posey county. It began in Spencer or Warrick county, and went to the Saline region of Illinois, south of the little Wabash river. The Shawnees, under Chief Setteedown, had villages along this trail, not far from Newburg, at one time known as Sprinkleburg, a home of Major John Sprinkles.¹¹⁶

SALT ROUTE OR TRACE.

In General Harrison's treaty with the Indians at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, the Vincennes tract was ceded to the United States, by a specific description, using Surveyor Freeman's "calls,"—the first treaty of its kind in Indiana. In addition, the tribes relinquished and ceded "to the United States the great salt spring upon the Saline creek, which falls into the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash, with a quantity of land surrounding it, not exceeding four miles

¹¹⁵ Article 5, Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1803; Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 64 and 65.

¹¹⁶ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 220, 502, 503 and 504; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 113, 128 and 129, 232, 300-8, 510 and 511, 162, 182, 186, 211, 520; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 97. (Note: For a good pioneer description of Princeton and southwestern Indiana, as of 1817, read Morris Birkbeck's "*Notes on a Journey in America*," published in London, 1818, pp. 89-144. It also covers the Saline country in Illinois.)

square," etc. The spring was in what is now Illinois, near Shawneetown, named in honor of the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines.¹¹⁷—"the first at the battle, and the last at the treaty."

There was an old traveled way from Vincennes that crossed White river near where Hazleton is, and the Patoka river at John Severns',¹¹⁸ about three miles north of Princeton, and continued southwest to the Wabash river near the mouth of the Little Wabash, where it crossed the Wabash. The Little Wabash river flows into the Wabash river at the northeast corner of Gallatin county, Illinois, about nine miles north of the mouth of the Wabash, and about fifteen miles north of Shawneetown, Illinois. The Saline springs and salt works were near by, on Saline creek. The route described was known, in 1807, as the "Salt route."¹¹⁹ Part of the trail was in Illinois. Salt makers at the spring mentioned had to be protected against Indian raids, even though the Indians received 150 bushels of salt annually as their royalty. This salt route, and the guards on duty about the salt works, were mentioned in General Harrison's military orders in September, 1807. In 1750, a stockade fort was built in Indiana, across from these springs. The production of salt at the "United States Saline," twenty-six miles below the mouth of

¹¹⁷ *Ferry*, by Jos. Decker, Jr., Feb. 2, 1803; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 116; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 38 and 222; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 103; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 74; Treaty, Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 64 and 65; (Note: Salt was a valuable commodity in 1804). See the surveyor's description of French Lick Springs, Vol. 2, N. & W., pp. 81 and 82.

¹¹⁸ Note: On May 23, 1807, John A. Miller was licensed by the territorial government "to keep a ferry across the Patoka river" at Patoka, Indiana.—Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 140.

the Wabash river, reached between 200,000 and 300,000 bushels annually.

The John Severns mentioned above was a very successful "scout" and pathfinder in his day, and rendered valuable service to General Harrison in establishing traces, both blind and blazed traces.¹²⁰ Captain Dubois captured three stolen horses from the Indians on this Salt route,¹²¹ in 1813. His name appears to an Indian treaty signed December 30, 1805, for land in Illinois.

There were four east and west traces cut out or improved by white pioneers between the Ohio and White rivers, and four north and south traces between the Wabash and Blue rivers. In this particular work John Severns, a Welshman who lived on Patoka river, northwest of Princeton, was a valuable help. He made the first permanent settlement in

¹¹⁹ Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 97, for White river crossing; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 5, p. 413; See Article 3, Treaty of Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, Senate Documents, Vol. 39, pp. 64 and 65; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 37; Cockrum's *Pioneer Indiana*, pp. 117, 144, 216, 219, 224, 225, 238, 464 and 474; Old Salt Trail crosses the Wabash just below New Harmony; "*Once Upon a Time in Indiana*," p. 169; "*Notes on a Journey in America*,"—Morris Birkbeck, pp. 101-144. (Note: Birkbeck's Colony is described by Cobbett, in "*Early Travels in Indiana*," pp. 511-513. Morris Birkbeck was an English Quaker farmer of education and ability. His "*Notes*" are highly instructive and full of pioneer information—a record worthy of preservation.) "*Early Travels in Indiana*," p. 171; Brown's *Western Gazetteer* (1817), pp. 26, 50 and 51.

¹²⁰ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 212, 214, 215 and 166.

¹²¹ Dillon's *Indiana*, pp. 55, 57 and 527; Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 3, p. 186, a note at foot of page; Ellis' *Life of Daniel Boone*, p. 97; Book 49062 Indiana State Library, p. 227; See map in *American Motorist*, December number, 1915; Dillon's *Indiana*, p. 450.

what is now Gibson county. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

One of these traces left the Red Banks trace at a point probably south of Haubstadt, and went "east parallel with the river from forty to fifty miles." This crossed the Rome trace, and went toward Fredonia. It was near William Rector's "base line," which was 24 miles south of the Buckingham Base Line, the basis of Indiana surveys.¹²² There was also one that ran south of Patoka and across the Yellow Banks trail to the Blue river trace.¹²³ The Buffalo trace, in Dubois county, was improved by General Harrison, by cutting out shorter routes, and for that reason it is known in places as the Governor's trace, or Harrison's road.¹²⁴ There was also a trace cut out from near Otwell east by way of Jasper to the Blue river at Milltown, or near there.

In an order written November 4, 1807, General Harrison said to Captain William Hargrove: "You now have four roads or traces running to the east that can be easily found and traveled over, dividing your territory into sections between the Ohio and White rivers."¹²⁵ The main routes were the Buffalo trace, Patoka river trace, Haubstadt trace, and the Rome trace. These with their branches formed a means of travel east and west.

In the same order General Harrison wrote: "Also you have four roads or traces running north and south dividing your territory in that direction from near the Wabash on the west to Blue river on the east, thus enabling you to give much better protection to settlers now there and to the emigrants coming into your territory," etc.

¹²² Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Vol. 3, p. 192.

¹²³ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 165, 166, 168, 214 and 215.

¹²⁴ Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 27, 31 and 74.

¹²⁵ Cockrum's *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 224.

The systematic and military tact of General Harrison is apparent. The four main north and south routes were Blue river, Yellow Banks (two branches), Red Banks and the Salt route. The Rome trace also may have been considered in this group.

WHETZEL'S TRACE.

A trace that at once sprung into use was the Whetzel trace through the New Purchase. It appears that in 1817, Jacob Whetzel selected a tract of land in the Harrison Purchase, about Worthington, at the mouth of Eel river (before the treaty of Saint Mary's, October 2-6, 1818), and that his home was near Laurel, on the Whitewater river, in Franklin county. To go from his home to his Eel river location by water would require a long voyage, part of it up stream. To avoid this he resolved to cut a trace across the Indian lands then about to become the New Purchase. In doing so his trace covered a distance of over sixty miles through a primeval forest. He struck the west fork of White river at the site of Waverly, five miles north of a point sixty miles west of Laurel, thus he traveled west on an angle of only $4^{\circ} 45' 48''$ from Laurel,—a remarkable achievement for a woodsman in his day, provided he really intended to travel due west of Laurel. The location attracted his fancy to such an extent that he resolved to make it a habitation and a home, thus his settlement and the New Purchase treaty bear almost the same date. The Waverly settlement took the place of his Eel river enterprise. Had he floated down White river he would not have reached the Harrison Purchase until he passed under the Ten-O'clock Line at Gosport.

Before Jacob Whetzel undertook to cut a trace to the west

fork of White river he took the precaution to get permission from the Indians. In the summer of 1818, Jacob Whetzel visited Chief Anderson, of the Delaware Indians, whose home was near the site of Anderson, Indiana, and obtained permission to cut the trace. In Whetzel's party were his son Cyrus, a youth of eighteen; Thomas Howe, Thomas Rush, Richard Rush and Walter Banks.

Jacob Whetzel and Thomas Rush selected the route, perhaps guided by a hand compass, and occasionally by an Indian trail. The other men cut out the route wide enough for the passage of a team. The trace ran about seven miles below the present site of Rushville, four miles above Shelbyville, and a little north of Boggstown. The road soon became known as "Whetzel's Trace." These pioneers gave names to many creeks as they cut out the trace. The trace proved to be of great importance in the settlement of Marion, Johnson, Morgan and Shelby counties. The boy Cyrus became a pioneer surveyor and surveyed the "bluff road" from Waverly to Franklin. The road was cut out in 1824. The name "bluffs" was given to the White river hills in Morgan county by Jacob Whetzel. In cutting out their trace the Whetzel party had no thought of making a road for subsequent travel. It was intended only for the Whetzel teams, on their way to White river, but it soon became a line of general travel.

The son, Cyrus Whetzel, is recorded as probably the first settler of Morgan county, though his land entry bears date of July 17, 1821. He could not purchase it until the surveys of his range were completed and the land opened for entry. The surveys were made in September, 1820, by John McDonald, who surveyed the "Ten O'Clock Line," and B. Bently, both government deputy surveyors. Cyrus Whetzel was born in Ohio county, Virginia, December 1, 1800, and entered his land before he was twenty-one. He was elected to the house of representatives in 1858, and was probably the foremost

backwoodsman of the general assembly of Indiana. From 1827 to 1862 he operated a ferry across White river, near his home. He died December 16, 1871. Jacob Whetzel, the father, found delight in hunting and trapping about Waverly until the end of his days. The prominence that came to Whetzel's trace was due to the fact that it was the earliest east and west road through the New Purchase. There was an old Indian trail from the south. These two traces soon became main lines of travel. Many pioneers from Ohio and Kentucky entered land in the same township, the same day Cyrus Whetzel did, which was upon the opening of the public sale of land in his range, for his land district, Brookville, afterward known as the Indianapolis Land Office District. Cyrus Whetzel first bought 137.14 acres, on the south side of White river in section 23, near what is now Waverly. White river ran almost due west past his land. Later he made other entries.¹²⁶

In all these traces, trails, routes, pioneer roads, etc., the making of a state became possible, and for that reason they are worthy of study and consideration. When General Harrison came to Vincennes his principal work was to establish roads and houses of accommodation between the settlements, fix the boundaries of the old Vincennes Tract and Kaskaskia Grant, make provision for the security of traders in the Indian country,¹²⁷ etc. He did so, created a state, and found his way to the White House.

¹²⁶ Brown's "*Western Gasetteer*" (1817), p. 71 (p. 358, Eel River); Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, page 34, Vol. 4, p. 313. Vol. 5, pp. 240, 242, 423 and 454; Esarey's *Indiana*, p. 243; Banta's *History of Johnson County*, pp. 9-14, 17 and 117; *Brant and Fuller's History of Johnson County*, pp. 293-297; Plat Book 3, p. 4, Vol. 12, pp. 337-351 N. & E.; Tract Book 1, pp. 261-267, Indianapolis District (at office of Auditor of State).

¹²⁷ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 4, p. 253; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 232.

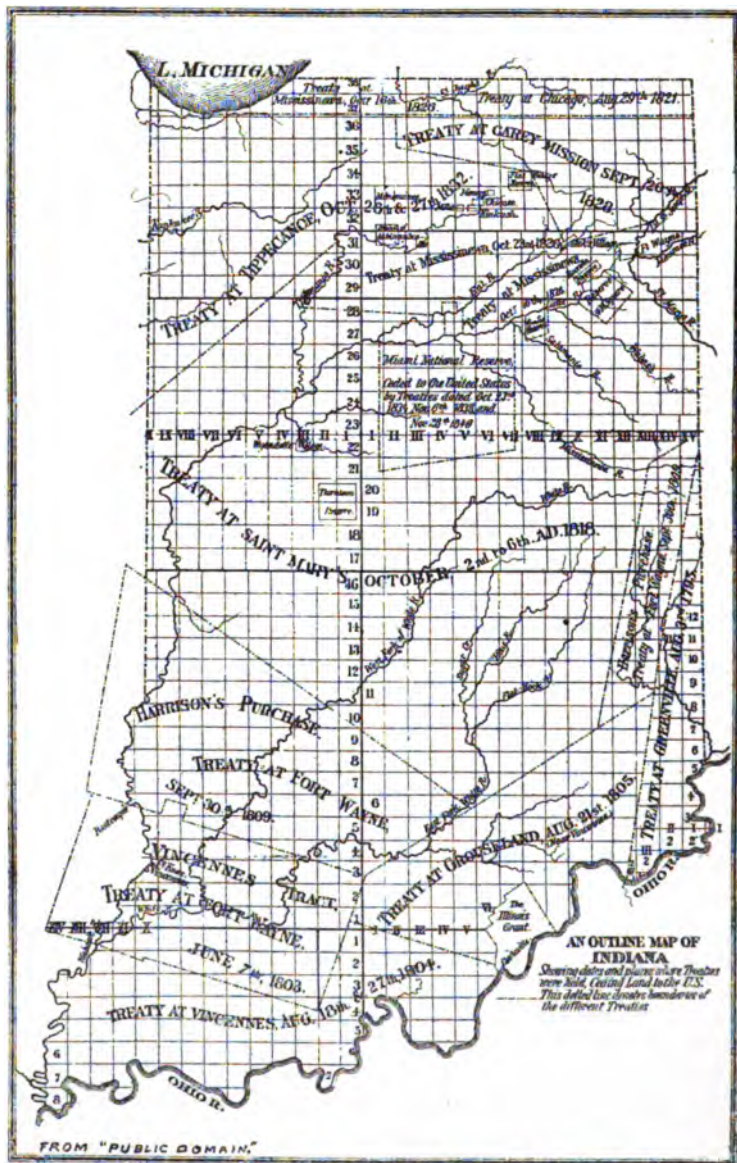


PLATE 9.

PART II.

PIONEER SURVEYING IN INDIANA.

This article is intended to serve only as an introduction to a neglected field of interesting information. No attempt is made to cover all the Indiana surveys, or any one survey completely. Typical cases, or cases more or less historical, have been selected with a view of showing how vast is the field of information to be found in the old official survey records, provided he who searches understands something about surveyors' field notes, their terms, abbreviations, etc., and can, in a measure, convert them into common language, and re-locate his findings on an ordinary map. As far as possible, technical terms and professional formula have been eliminated in this article. The authority quoted, so far as written records are concerned, refers to the state field notes and maps in the office of the Auditor of State, of the state of Indiana. Other references explain themselves.

There were several old surveys in Indiana before the Indian title was extinguished, namely, the French tracts at Vincennes, Clark's grant in Clark and Scott counties, etc. As title came to the government the rectangular system of surveys was put into effect, running up to and touching the old surveys. In this way the old surveys are located upon the maps. The survey system, as used in Indiana, was ordered by congress, and for that reason we often hear of a "congressional township."

The line dividing the states of Ohio and Indiana is known

as the first principal meridian. This line coincides with $84^{\circ} 51'$ west of Greenwich. This meridian governs Indiana lands east of the Greenville treaty line, a line agreed upon August 3, 1795.

The range line that starts at the confluence of the Little Blue river with the Ohio and runs to the northern boundary of Indiana, was named the SECOND PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN, and governs the surveys of all public lands in Indiana, except those mentioned above. It "coincides" with $86^{\circ} 28'$ west longitude. The base line crosses this at right angles, at $38^{\circ} 28' 20''$ north latitude. From these two lines all of the later rectangular work takes its name and number. These will be more fully considered hereinafter.

Fairly complete instructions, rules and regulations were given to the deputy surveyors who were to subdivide Ohio and Indiana into townships and sections. Among pages of instructions are the following: "You will be careful to note in your field book * * * all rivers, creeks, springs and smaller streams of water, with their width and the course they run in crossing the lines of survey, and whether navigable, rapid, or mountainous, the kinds of timber and undergrowth with which the land may be covered, all swamps, ponds, stone quarries, coal beds, peat or turf grounds, uncommon, natural or artificial productions, such as mounds, precipices, caves, etc., all rapids, cascades or falls of water, materials, ores, fossils, etc.; the quality of the soil and the true situation of all mines, salt-licks, salt-springs and mill seats, which may come to your knowledge."¹²⁸ The foregoing in-

¹²⁸ Booklet, "*The Public Domain and its Survey*," 1892; Official Records and Original Field Notes; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 4, pp. 98, 110 and 254, Vol. 1, p. 126; "Indiana and Indians," p. 58, for "trees of peace"; *The Public Domain*, Vol. 19, p. 180.

structions were followed in Indiana as soon as the rectangular system of surveys were begun. However, before that time several important surveys were made. The most important were the surveys of Clark's Grant, the Greenville treaty line, and the Vincennes tract. These deserve separate mention, because each is typical of its kind.

SURVEYS MADE PREVIOUS TO THE GENERAL SURVEY OF INDIANA.

THE ILLINOIS OR CLARK'S GRANT.

By the provisions of an act of the General Assembly of Virginia, of the 3rd of October, 1779, and the 5th of October, 1780, the following land bounties were promised to the officers and soldiers of Virginia who served to the end of the Revolutionary War, viz: To a major general, 15,000 acres; to a brigadier general, 10,000 acres; to a colonel, 6,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres; to a lieutenant colonel, 6,000 acres; to a major, 5,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres; to a captain, 4,000 acres; to a subaltern, 2,66 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres; to a non-commissioned officer, 400 acres, and to a private, 200 acres.

A grant had been given to General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, that had marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that had been since incorporated into the said regiment.

In 1786, the reservation was laid off on the borders of the Ohio river, adjacent to the falls, by William Clark, a surveyor, and a cousin of General George Rogers Clark. The commissioners who were selected to sign the deeds of allotments were,—William Clark, William Croghan, Abraham

Chaplain, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Terrell, James Francis Moore and Andrew Heth.

In those days a grant of land was usually laid out at right angles to a stream of water, so Clark's Grant took its general boundary lines from the trend of the Ohio river at Eighteen-Mile-Island, northeast of Louisville, Kentucky. The survey map of the Illinois Grant shows "a dense cane brake" existed north of the Six-Mile-Island, in 1796. It was north of the present site of Clarksville and between Silver creek and the Ohio river. The record of the survey, as originally made, differs about five degrees from that made by the government deputy surveyors at a later date. Evidently Surveyor William Clark did not allow for the magnetic variation. His survey could be correct without it. The rectangular system of surveys was adopted May 20, 1785, but the outlines of Clark's Grant did not call for it. In 1795, the Indians relinquished their title to the land in Clark's Grant by the treaty of Greenville.

The patent for Clark's Grant bears date of December 14, 1786. It reads as follows:

"Edmund Randolph, Esquire, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia,—

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

"Know ye, that by virtue of an act of Assembly passed in the October Session, 1783, entitled an act for surveying the lands granted to the Illinois Regiment, and establishing a town within the said grant, there is granted by the said Commonwealth unto William Fleming, John Edwards, John Campbell, George Rogers Clark, John Montgomery, Abraham Chaplain, John Bailey, Robert Todd, William Clark, James Francis Moore, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, Andrew Heth, Richard Terrell and William Croghan, as a board of commissioners to and for

the uses and purposes expressed in the said act a certain tract or parcel of land containing one hundred and forty-nine thousand acres, lying and being on the northwest side of the Ohio river and bounded as follows, to-wit:

"BEGINNING at a white oak, blue ash and hickory nearly opposite the upper point of the Eighteen-Mile-Island on the bank of the river,

RUNNING N. 40° W. 4652 poles, crossing Fourteen-Mile-Creek three times, and sundry branches, to a black gum, white oak and sugar tree.

THENCE S. 50° W. 1006 [or 1600] poles to three white oaks,

THENCE S. 40° E. 300 poles to three white oaks,

THENCE S. 50° W. 1866 poles to two black oaks and a Spanish oak near the Knobs.

THENCE S. 40° E. 300 poles to a poplar, white oak and dogwood,

THENCE S. 50° W. 533 poles to three white oaks on the point of a ridge,

THENCE S. 40° E. 600 poles to a poplar, beech and ash,

THENCE S. 50° W. 533 poles to three white oaks and dogwood sapling,

THENCE S. 40° E. 1200 poles, crossing the muddy fork of Silver Creek three times, to a white oak and two dogwood saplings,

THENCE S. 2° W. 2840 poles to two elms and a beech on the bank of Falling Run,

THENCE S. 40° E. crossing said run, 320 poles to the Ohio, a poplar and two beeches,

THENCE up the river, as it meanders 340 poles to a small white thorn, white oak and hickory near the mouth of Silver Creek, and corner to the one thousand acres laid off agreeable to the aforesaid act for a town,

THENCE with the lines thereof N. 170 poles, crossing Silver Creek twice to a sweet gum, beech and sugar tree,
THENCE E. 326 poles, crossing the creek to three beeches,
THENCE S. 40° E. 86 poles to a beech and sugar,
THENCE E. 176 poles to a large sweet gum, dogwood and sugar tree,
THENCE S. 180 poles to a sugar and two white ash trees,
THENCE — 158 poles to three beeches,
THENCE S. 280 poles to two white ashes and hickory on the Ohio,
THENCE up the same, with its meanderings, to the beginning," etc., etc.

There were 1,000 acres in the Clarksville grant and 149,000 in the main grant. This survey is treated somewhat in full, because it is typical of the plans of surveys usual in the days before the rectangular systems of surveys were put into effect. The tract may be observed on any large map of Indiana, and most of it is now within the boundaries of Clark county. It was no small task to divide the tract into allotments. Many contained 500 acres each. For its day the survey was very good, but the description would be more definitely made at the present time. In place of naming a cluster of trees for a corner, their sizes and their directions and distances from the corner post would be mentioned.

Later surveyors who put into effect the rectangular system in Indiana, measured their lines up to the lines of Clark's Grant, thus Clark's Grant is held in position, by its own lines and by those of subsequent surveys, somewhat like a keystone in an arch. There are many such irregular plots in Gibson, Pike, Knox, Daviess, Sullivan and other counties, due to early grants or early acquired titles. These irregular

plots of ground prove the value of the rectangular system subsequently adopted.¹²⁹

RE-SURVEY OF THE GREENVILLE TREATY LINE, IN 1800,—
THE GORE OF INDIANA.

The Ohio Enabling act of April 30, 1802, gave to Indiana the "gore of Indiana." The western boundary line of the land ceded by the Indians in the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, was designated in the treaty as a line extending from Fort Recovery (Ohio), "southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawba River." Extend the west line of Dearborn county to the Ohio river and to the Ohio state line and you thus locate the Greenville treaty line through Indiana. That part of Indiana east of this line is often referred to as the "gore of Indiana." At one time all of it was known as Dearborn county. The citizens of the "gore" were partial to Ohio.

The record of a re-survey of the "gore line" in Indiana, begins as follows: "Commenced at a maple 10 inches in diameter, standing on the north bank of the Ohio, at a point opposite the mouth of Kentucky river, September 17, 1800; course N. 5° 25' E." This line ran from the above tree to Fort Recovery, Ohio. The tree mentioned is near Lamb, in

¹²⁹ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 180, 181, 396 and 612; Public Domain, Vol. 19, pp. 171 and 179; Miscellaneous Record No. 1, pp. 1, 2 and 3, and Map of Illinois Grant at State Auditor's Office; Esarey's *Indiana*, pp. 68, 69, 94 and 203; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 91 (note 3); English's "*Conquest of the Northwest*," p. 1015; Brown's "*Western Gasetteer*" (1817), p. 78.

the southwest corner of Switzerland county.¹⁸⁰ This surveyor frequently wrote these words in his field notes: "rose a hill" (meaning that he went up a hill), "rose a rill," "rose a ridge," etc. While in the neighborhood of Loughery creek he made this entry: "When on Loughery creek I got my compass bent by a fall and got another which I know to be affected by the severe frost. I have now got my former one righted, but owing to the advanced season and severity of the weather I find it impossible to run them [the lines] on."¹⁸¹ He was engaged in sub-dividing the land east of the Greenville treaty line, i. e., in Dearborn county, etc. This treaty line was originally surveyed, in 1798, by Israel Ludlow. The sub-division of the land east of this line belongs to the Ohio system.

THE VINCENNES TRACT, FREEMAN LINES, BUCKINGHAM'S
BASE LINE, AND SECOND PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN.

The story of how there came to be a tract of land known as the "Vincennes Tract," with its Indian, French and English associations, wars, treaties and settlements, and their bearing upon the history and surveys of Indiana, constitutes very interesting reading, dating back almost two hundred years. Suffice it to say, that in 1742, the Indians gave to the French, at Vincennes, by means of a "Gift Deed," a tract of

¹⁸⁰ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 37, 233 and 461; Record III, West of First Meridian, p. 96; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, p. 492, Vol. 3, pp. 65, 67 and 116; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 609, 610, 333, 357, 358 and 374.

¹⁸¹ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, pp. 366 and 492, Vol. 4, p. 307, Vol. 1, pp. 136, 329, 335, 345, 351, 352, 363 and 364; Record III, West of First Meridian, p. 106; Venable's *Footprints of the Pioneers*, p. 55.

land lying at right angles to the general trend of the Wabash river at Vincennes. In 1763 the English conquered it from the French, and in 1779 General Clark captured it from the English in his conquest of the Northwest Territory, so from this date we begin.

Draw a line on a state map, from Orleans, in Orange county, to Point Coupee,¹⁸² on the Wabash river, and you will have the north line of that part of the Vincennes Tract which is in Indiana. Run the line from Orleans to a point seven and one-half miles south of the southeast corner of Dubois county, where Dubois, Crawford and Perry unite, and you will locate the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract. Draw a line thence to the mouth of White river, and you will have the south line of the Vincennes Tract, so far as Indiana is concerned. These lines and corners are locally known by the name of "Freeman." The Vincennes Tract contained about 1,600,000 acres. The survey began in the summer or fall of 1802, and was not completed until in 1803. The north line started at Point Coupee, near Merom, in Sullivan county, and ran south 78° east, passed near Odon, and ended in section 19, near Orleans, at what is known as "Freeman's Corner." His field notes are not altogether dry reading. He recorded Indian trails, crab orchards, very large springs, trees, rivers, etc. The corner near Orleans is 57 miles due east of Vincennes. From Orleans the line runs south 12° west 40 miles, and passes near Paoli, Eckerty, etc. There are many interesting items mentioned in his record, but they must be omitted here.

In the survey of the south line he began at the mouth of White river and ran south 78° east, 59 miles to a point in

¹⁸² August 20, 1729; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 294.

Perry county. Near this line is Princeton, Oakland City, Holland, St. Meinrad, etc. In the survey at Princeton he made an offset, in order to keep Princeton within the treaty territory, a privilege he had under a later treaty. Occasionally along his lines a sapling was split by Freeman's men, and a limb returned through the body, thus a line of "peace trees" was established. In time, the sapling grew to be a deformed forest tree, and did its part to preserve the location of the line. Some people who have lived near the line recall such trees on their farms.¹³³

Enough has been mentioned to show how well the work was done. It seems that Surveyor Freeman took an "exception" mentioned in the Wabash Land Company's deed, and "Exception 2" in the Greenville treaty, and by a survey produced a description of the Vincennes Tract by metes and bounds, which was used when a new treaty was made at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803. It appears that when Freeman had about completed his survey, a new Indian treaty was made, and in this treaty a very definite description was used, thus clearing away any cloud that may have been upon the title and description. In other words, the government went back of all French and English deeds or treaties, and again bought direct from the Indians, who were the remote owners. In this treaty the boundaries, as established by Surveyor Freeman, were agreed upon.

As soon as this treaty had been signed, settlers began to drift toward Vincennes, with a view of making a home on the land. Surveyors were put to work to survey the Vincennes Tract into townships and sections. The base line passes east and west almost near its center. The second principal meridian practically passes through the "Freeman Cor-

¹³³ See Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 1, p. 126, and Indiana and Indianans, p. 58.

ner" at Orleans. Surveyors had contracts to survey the tract by ranges six miles wide, running north and south from Freeman line to Freeman line; thus settlements and surveys made a forward move. Before long a land office was established at Vincennes, and land was open for entry.

We, who live in Indiana, do not appreciate our rectangular system of surveys as we should. The system is a blessing, and saves endless litigation. Kentucky had no such system, and many of its worthy pioneers lost their lands for want of a survey. Thomas Lincoln left Kentucky because he was not sure of his title. Daniel Boone, Kentucky's star pioneer, and hundreds of other Kentucky pioneers, were victims of defective land titles. The lessons learned in Kentucky caused many to come to Indiana.

Travelers entered the Vincennes Tract by way of the Buffalo Trace from Louisville; the Rome Trace, or Rome Road, from Rome, in Perry county, via Fulda, Mariah Hill, Selvin, etc.; the Yellow Banks Trace, by way of Rockport, Selvin, etc.; The Red Banks Trace, by way of Henderson, Evansville, Princeton, etc.; and the Shawnee Trace in Illinois. These towns are mentioned to serve as guides. Not all were known then, or even contemplated.

It is plain to be seen that in order to get into the Vincennes Tract the settlers had to travel over Indian land, and General Harrison began to negotiate with the Indians for the land between the Vincennes Tract and the Ohio river. He met with pronounced success. By a treaty at Vincennes, in August, 1804, the Indians ceded the land in Indiana that lies south of the old Buffalo Trace, and the Vincennes Tract to the United States. This second treaty was signed at Vincennes, in August, 1804, and surveyors were put to work to block out the new land into sections. No doubt this second purchase caused the second principal meridian to be moved

twelve miles east from where it was originally intended to be, to where it is today.

Who was Thomas Freeman? It must be recalled that Florida was a Spanish possession. On October 27, 1795, a treaty was made between the United States and Spain, defining the boundaries of these countries in the south and west, about Florida, and at 31° north latitude on the Mississippi, etc. The treaty was ratified March 3, 1796, and on May 24, 1796, Thomas Freeman was appointed surveyor, on the part of the United States, for the purpose of running the national boundary line mentioned in said treaty. It thus appears that Thomas Freeman must have been a surveyor that enjoyed the confidence of his country, and had had unusual experience before he came to Indiana. From 1820 to 1822 he was surveyor-general of the public domain south of the state of Tennessee.¹⁸⁴

Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., surveyed the base line, in 1804. In surveying the base line, he started in Illinois at a point on the Freeman line on the south side of the Vincennes Tract, and ran east. At 67½ miles he set a post, which, in time, proved to be 3.60 chains west of the present line between Dubois and Orange counties, and which will be referred to again. He marked "line trees," kept a record, drove "mile" and "half mile" posts, but he was "just running an east and west line, without establishing any corners."

On October 15, 1804, he began at the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract, as located by Thomas Freeman, and ran a line due north (which line is now recognized as the east line of Dubois county), until he struck his base line, on what is now the line between Dubois and Orange counties, and at a point 67 miles and 43.60 chains east of where he started,

¹⁸⁴ "The Public Domain," Vol. 19, p. 171.

and 3.60 chains east of a half mile post. As he found it, the line from the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract to the base line is 22 miles and 44.50 chains long. Having intersected his base line at a point due north of the southeast Freeman corner, he proceeded east on the base line, marking "section corners," and "half section corners," and corner witness trees, and recording them as he went, until he reached the Freeman line on the east end of the Vincennes Tract, at 7 miles and 50.30 chains east of the Dubois and Orange county line. Then he came back to the "initial corner," on the "county line," and went west on his base line, marking each "section corner," "half section corner," and recording corner witness trees, until he was back into Illinois and struck the south Freeman line again, at a point 43.60 chains west of the northeast corner of Section 2, Township 1, South Range 14 West, which was his starting point. As he went west he probably reset all his "mile posts" and "half mile posts," east 3.60 chains, and made them section and half section corner posts, in order to adjust them to the line he ran north from Freeman's corner in what is now Perry county. He reversed his base line and thus threw the 3.60 chains on the Freeman line in Illinois, thus showing that he regarded the crossing at the Orange and Dubois county line as his "initial point."

This brings out a point of unusual interest. In southern Indiana, sections were first numbered, under our rectangular survey system, where the base line crosses the county line between Orange and Dubois counties. "Until this point was found Buckingham did not use the term 'section.'" Evidently the intention was to make the east line of Dubois county the line of the "Second Principal Meridian," which was to start north from the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract, for he ran that line north "just as a line." Later, surveyors began on the base line and re-marked the

meridian line south, marking section and half section corners and recording witness trees, and numbering them from the base line south as they went.

In surveying what is now the east line of Dubois county for a meridian line, Mr. Buckingham made this record:

"Beginning with the MERIDIAN LINE at the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract, as established by Mr. Freeman," etc.

In September, 1805, Buckingham extended his base line east from the Vincennes Tract to a point twelve miles from the Dubois and Orange county line, and then ran NORTH to the north line of the VINCENNES TREATY line of August, 1804, which had been surveyed from the Vincennes Tract to Clark's grant, in July, 1805, by William Rector. This last north and south line was finally selected and named the SECOND PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN. It extends from the Ohio river to the state of Michigan, etc.; thus, after all, the southeast Freeman corner controlled and, finally, really located the present well-known "second principal meridian," which coincides with $86^{\circ} 28'$ west of Greenwich, England. This line happens to be where it is, because it is twelve miles east of the southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract. At the time Buckingham contracted to do the work a meridian line could not have been run from the northeast Freeman corner, for the reason that the very moment he moved north or south of the corner he would have been on Indian ground. The base line coincides with $38^{\circ} 28' 20''$ north latitude.

When Buckingham came north from the Freeman corner, in what is now Perry county, and intersected his base line, he recorded two "BEECH TREES" as witness trees, and thus a system began. These same trees are the witness trees at the corner of four congressional townships, and thus two beech trees, both north of the base line, one in Dubois county

and one in Orange county, are the first witness trees on record in connection with a township corner in the very extensive surveys governed by this great base line and second principal meridian. Both of these two great lines were primarily extended from the Freeman lines. It is probable that these two lines are ordinary section lines dignified with the names *Base Line* and *Second Principal Meridian*. From these two lines, the new possessions of the United States were divided into townships and sections, and a new state was born, now known as Indiana. It is easy to see that the Vincennes Tract was the "cradle of the land surveys" of Indiana.

The old original musty field notes, as written on the ground, or at the camps of these pioneer surveyors, are interesting documents to any man who has followed the lines called for by them, found many of the identical trees therein described, and placed his transit over the very "posts" called for by these fading documents. Most of the note books are about three inches by six, made by hand out of old-fashioned "fools-cap" paper, sewed together with thread as awkwardly as a man could do it, or tied together with buckskin, cut as thin as a pioneer could do the work. They show the result of perspiration, or snow and rain, pocket wear, and the cruel hand of time; yet they tell a story of pioneer life, no courts or jury ever set aside.

One can easily imagine Thomas Freeman at his work. We can see him with his Jacob-staff in his right hand, his compass swung on his left shoulder, and on his right hip his buckskin pouch, swinging from its shoulder strap, containing his instructions, papers, field notes; an ink-horn, opened at the smaller end, containing "home-made" ink brewed from forest bark; another horn, opened at the larger end, containing dry sand, which he used in his tent, as a blotter is used now; a

dozen or more wild goose feathers, from which to make quill pens, etc. With him were his axe-men, "blazers," chainmen, and in the lead a "flagman," wearing a red flannel shirt that he might be more easily seen. He may have been on horseback, and without a flag, or rod. Freeman's cooks, tent men, hunters, and camp-followers were near by. A few "wise chiefs," provided for under the Greenville treaty of 1795, and their dusky warriors may have completed the party. It was not a large party, for Freeman's record speaks of a "little party." Pack horses, with provisions, medicines, and the Kentucky "cure for snake bites" were in charge of the farriers or teamsters.

The white men wore buckskin trousers, raccoon skin caps, moccasins, and the other usual pioneer clothing. The guards or hunters carried their long trusty flint-lock Kentucky or Tennessee rifles, and knew how to hit EITHER eye of a deer, buffalo, or even a squirrel. Wild game or fowl furnished the fresh meat, and perhaps the streams a few fish. Flint, steel, and "punk" supplied fires, and thus the party slowly, but surely, blazed its way over creeks, rivers, valleys and hills; through briers, thickets, barrens, woods, snow and water, opening up a way for those of us who came after them.

Two years after Freeman made his surveys, we find Buckingham, THE BASE LINE AND MERIDIAN LINE SURVEYOR, running a line east and west about the center of the Vincennes Tract, and then going to the Freeman corner, in what is now Perry county, to run a line that struck the base line "on the square," and then and there put into force the great rectangular survey system of the Northwest Territory. His help and party were similar to that we imagine Freeman had. In the final analysis the Freeman line is the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle of which the present

base line and the temporary meridian line are the other factors.

Nothing the writer has ever done has afforded him so much pleasure as he found, in his boyhood days, when he carried a transit over the old hills of Dubois county and re-traced these old lines and re-established some of these old corners. There was a taste of romance about it, to say the least.

SPECIAL NOTES AND REFERENCES ON THE VINCENNES TRACT
SURVEY AND THE FREEMAN LINES.

Thomas Freeman made the survey of the boundary line of the Vincennes Tract.¹³⁵ The northwest corner of this land is in Illinois. At a point 21 miles and 110 rods south 12° west of this corner he crossed the famous "Illinois Trace."¹³⁶ At a point 4 miles and 82 rods north, 78° west of the mouth of White river, and also in Illinois, he found a "Handsome Spot."¹³⁷ At 5 miles and 50 rods he found a "most beautiful place." He did not record an Indian trail near here, but later surveys record two "roads" leading to these two beauty spots.¹³⁸ There was a settlement at Princeton before this survey was made, so he was permitted to make a triangular offset in order to include Princeton in the Vincennes Tract.¹³⁹ About 4 miles east of Princeton he recorded an

¹³⁵ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 16; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 4, pp. 254 and 255.

¹³⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 10.

¹³⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 13.

¹³⁸ Plat Book V, p. 87. See "*Notes on a Journey in America*," by Morris Birkbeck, published in London, 1818, pp. 114-144. A very good description of "The Birkbeck Colony."

¹³⁹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 17; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 27, 113, 129, 186, 283, 437 and 510.

"Indian trace." It was $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the mouth of White river. The longer boundary lines ran south 78° east; the others at right angles to this.¹⁴⁰

He started to survey the north line of this tract, in Indiana, February 1, 1803, but on account of weather conditions had to wait until February 14, 1803. He crossed the west fork of White river at a point south 78° east of Point Coupee, and a little over 20 miles distant. On this line he located several Indian trails indicating roads to Vincennes, or to Trinity or Indian Springs.¹⁴¹ About 42 miles from the Wabash on this line he recorded "a large mineral spring at the foot of a hill, spouting in two large streams from a free-stone bottom." This is where the Freeman line crosses a small river above Shoals, in Martin county.¹⁴² Near Huron, and near the county line between Martin and Lawrence counties, Freeman found an oak tree 26 links (over a rod) in circumference. The tree was $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter.¹⁴³ The northeast corner of this tract is near Orleans, nearly one-half mile east of the second principal meridian line. The Grouseland treaty line starts from this corner, and goes toward Brookville, Indiana.¹⁴⁴ In surveying south 12° west from Orleans, Freeman crossed several "trails" and made a record of them. The Buffalo trail or trace, and a trace from Cincinnati unite just west of this line.¹⁴⁵ About three months after the treaty of Fort Wayne was signed Freeman surveyed around the Busseron settlements, beginning on Saturday, September 17, 1803. In a small prairie $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles off the original line he

¹⁴⁰ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 17.

¹⁴¹ Plat Book 2, p. 55.

¹⁴² Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 23-27.

¹⁴³ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Plat Book I, p. 120.

¹⁴⁵ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 29.

marked a black oak "U. S."¹⁴⁶ He recorded Indian trails here, running north and south. The Carlisle settlement is recognized in this offset. The tract was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles by $5\frac{1}{2}$. A treaty covered this annexation to the Vincennes Tract.¹⁴⁷ Many writers and travelers previous to 1830, recorded wonderful stories about visionary forms of colonies in this locality.

The southeast corner of the Vincennes Tract is in Perry county, 43 chains south of the northeast corner of section 25, township 4 south, range 3 west. The corner was marked by two beech trees; one 8 inches in diameter stood south 56° east 14 links distant, and the other 7 inches in diameter stood south 88° west 12 links distant. They were marked by Levi Barber, the surveyor of range 3 west.¹⁴⁸

In Dubois county three handsome markers were erected on the Freeman line, in 1916, as a part of that county's centennial observations. Two of the markers are on the "French Lick Route" of the Market Highway system, and one is southwest of Holland.

SURVEY OF THE BUFFALO TRAIL.

There was a Buffalo trail, made into a trace, that led from the Falls of the Ohio, through the Vincennes Tract to Vincennes. The white men held Clark's Grant and the Vincennes Tract, but the trail between the two was on Indian land. The land south of this trail was purchased from the Indians at Vincennes, August 18 and 27, 1804. The treaty

¹⁴⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 33 and 34; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 71, 211 and 451.

¹⁴⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ Record 4, South Range 3 West, p. 107.

reads: "Article VI. As the road from Vincennes to Clark's Grant will form a very inconvenient boundary, and as it is the intention of the parties to these presents, that the whole of the said road shall be within the tract ceded to the United States, it is agreed that the boundary in that quarter shall be a straight line, to be drawn parallel to the course of said road, from the eastern boundary of the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne, to Clark's grant, but the said line is not to pass at a greater distance than half a mile from the most northerly bend of said road."¹⁴⁹ Of course this was all General Harrison wished. It gave him possession of the trace from the Ohio river to Vincennes. A surveyor was put to work. He surveyed the actual trace by magnetic courses and measured distances, and thus ascertained his final course and ran the boundary line one-half mile from the trail's most northerly bend. His record definitely locates the trail to the Vincennes Trace, and from there to Vincennes the range surveyors noted it in their surveys, thus this old trail is a matter of exact record. The survey of this Buffalo trail, where it was used in the treaty, was made by William Rector. The distance was 40 miles and 42 chains. The work was done in July, 1805. The New Albany and Paoli pike is north of this line.¹⁵⁰ This Buffalo trace or trail is referred to on early maps as "Buffalo Trace," "Kentucky Road," "Harrison's Road," "Road to Louisville," "Vincennes Trace," "Buffalo Trail," etc. William Rector was surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, from 1814 to 1824.

¹⁴⁹ American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, pp. 689-690.

¹⁵⁰ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 37-39; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 17, 18, 19, 359-365; Note 2 in Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 97, Vol. 2, pp. 16 and 464, Vol. 4, p. 190, Vol. 5, pp. 47-54; "The Public Domain," Vol. 19, p. 171.

SURVEY OF THE GROUSELAND TREATY LINE, IN 1806.

In July and August, 1806, Arthur Henri, a government surveyor, ran the Grouseland treaty line from the Freeman corner, near Orleans, to near Brookville. He began at the Freeman corner and ran a random line north 65° east, intending to strike the Fort Recovery Indian treaty boundary line (the gore line) 50 miles from the mouth of the Kentucky river. He struck 15 miles and 77 chains too far south. Then he began at a point 50 miles north of the mouth of the Kentucky river, and ran back to the Freeman corner, which he missed by running south. He then corrected his line back. The distance was 89 miles and 45.5 chains. The ten o'clock line intersects this line at a point 30 miles from the Freeman corner.

SURVEY OF THE "TEN O'CLOCK LINE," THE NORTHEAST LINE OF THE HARRISON PURCHASE.

This treaty line crosses the mouth of Raccoon creek, in Vermillion county, passes through Gosport, in Owen county, and ends on the Grouseland treaty line in Jackson county, at a point on the said line 30 miles from Orleans; that is, 30 miles from the northeast Freeman corner. The county line between Ripley and Decatur counties is the course of the Grouseland treaty line. It is the Grouseland treaty line while also the county line. The survey of the ten o'clock line was made by John McDonald, deputy surveyor for the government.¹⁵¹ Many interesting things are mentioned in the rec-

¹⁵¹ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 75, 86, 88, 99, 170, 199, 231, 242, 491; *Miscellaneous Record I*, p. 119; *Indiana Historical Society's Publications*, Vol. 1, p. 158; Vol. 4, map, p. 176, Vol. 3, p. 159; (Not of Dubois County); Vol. 5, pp. 55 and 112, Vol. 2, p. 34, Vol. 6, p. 303, Vol. 6, p. 312;

ords of this survey. Part of the "Harrison Purchase" was in Illinois. At 68.85 chains north $53^{\circ} 45'$ west of the mouth of Raccoon creek, on the north line of the "Harrison Purchase," in Vermillion county, not far from Hillsdale, the records show a mound about 9 chains in circumference, and 1 chain in elevation.¹⁵² About 2 miles east of Dana the record shows an Indian trace. The corner in Illinois was reached January 11, 1811, and is 15.16 miles from Raccoon creek.¹⁵³

On the "Market Highway" (also known as the "Jackson Highway" and "French Lick Route"), between Seymour and Brownstown, and near a cemetery, is a marker erected to guide one to where the "Ten O'Clock Line" intersects the Grouseland treaty line, before mentioned. Thus the termini of this line are brought to view.

The so-called "Ten O'clock Line" is on the northeast side of the "Harrison Purchase," or the southwest side of the "New Purchase."¹⁵⁴ It begins where Raccoon creek enters the Wabash river in Parke county, and runs south $53^{\circ} 45'$ east about 95 miles to a point near Brownstown, where it intersects the Grouseland treaty line. The surveyor's record shows that 13 miles and 30.25 chains from the mouth of Raccoon creek, an Indian trail, leading southwest, crossed the line.¹⁵⁵ This is near Bridgeton, Indiana. At 48 miles and 4.65 chains from Raccoon creek an Indian trail was crossed. This trail passed through Gosport, and probably led to the spring in Gosport. At 48 miles and 43.40 chains the line struck White river, at Gosport, where the river ran south

¹⁵² Miscellaneous Record I, p. 115.

¹⁵³ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 115-119; The "Western Gazetteer" (1817), p. 64.

¹⁵⁴ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 80, 86, 98, 99 and 231; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 4, p. 304, Vol. 6, p. 326.

¹⁵⁵ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 73.

10° west, (which is almost south). At 3.40 chains from the right-hand bank of the river there used to be a cherry tree and a sugar tree.¹⁵⁶ At 71 miles and 21 chains from Raccoon creek another Indian trail crossed the line. This was 10 miles east of Bloomington.¹⁵⁷ Just before the line hit the Grouseland treaty line another Indian trail was noted.¹⁵⁸ The old survey maps show a high bluff and a stone quarry along the bank of White river, and near the center of section 32, now Monon station.¹⁵⁹

The "Ten O'clock Line" was run by John McDonald, of Vincennes, a government treaty surveyor. In 1816 some section lines south of it were run by A. Henri and William Harris. In 1819, some north of it were surveyed by Thomas Brown, John Collett, and others. Gosport happens to be an equal distance from the two Indian ends of the line.¹⁶⁰

The treaty defining this "Ten O'clock Line" was made at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, and it was signed by William Henry Harrison, on the part of the United States. This treaty was the outcome of a series of negotiations by which the United States acquired the title to about 2,900,000 acres, the greater part of which lay above the old Vincennes tract ceded by the Indians in 1803, and above the Grouseland treaty, which came later. The treaty covered all the land in Indiana from Brownstown to Orleans, thence to Merom, from Merom to Raccoon creek, and thence by this "Ten O'clock Line" to Brownstown.

By the year 1809, the total quantity of land ceded to the

¹⁵⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 90.

¹⁵⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 101.

¹⁵⁸ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 115.

¹⁵⁹ Plat Book 2, p. 17, State Auditor's Office.

¹⁶⁰ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 75 and 87; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 5, pp. 56-112.

United States under treaties which were concluded between Governor Harrison and various Indian tribes, amounted to almost 30,000,000 acres.

The consummation of this treaty was one of the principal and immediate causes which led up to the great controversy with Tecumseh, and the stirring events that follow, including the battle of Tippecanoe; and it is but a flight of the imagination to conclude that the "Ten O'clock Line" made William Henry Harrison president of the United States.¹⁸¹

There is a tradition to the effect that the Indians were very troublesome while the line was being surveyed. Tradition says they did not trust the compass, and preferred the shadow made by the sun and a staff at ten o'clock in the morning, because the white man could not manipulate the sun as he could a compass. Therefore, the common expression, the "Ten O'clock Line." This is a pretty story, to say the least. At the time Indiana became a state, in 1816, this line was the north line of Indiana, under white government. The centennial we celebrated in 1916 really belonged to those south of the line. What is now Gosport was the very edge of the line, and on the Indian frontier.

The Indians began to see themselves losing the land, and the tribes in the central and northern parts of Indiana began to see white men to the south of them, where once roamed warriors of their own color. The government surveyors who immediately entered the land after the treaties were signed, began to divide the forests into sections, ready for the land-officers and settlers. Two hundred fifty thousand forest trees bearing the marks of the surveyors, tokens of advancing civilization, told the Indians, in a manner not to be misunder-

¹⁸¹ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 32; See decorations Fowler Hotel, LaFayette.

stood, that the days of the forest were numbered, and that their possessions were passing away.¹⁶²

Tecumseh was an Indian statesman, in addition to being a warrior. He contended that the Indians held their land in common, and that no one tribe or family could properly convey a part of the Indian territory to the whites. He endeavored to have the Indians unite and to consider their lands as the common property of the whole. He accused General Harrison of taking tribes aside and advising them not to unite or enter into Tecumseh's confederacy. The sale of the land south of our "Ten O'clock Line" brought forth a remonstrance from Tecumseh, and in time, the dissatisfaction among the Indian warriors caused by the treaty led to the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811.

STATE LINE SURVEYS.

SURVEY OF THE NORTH PART OF THE OHIO AND INDIANA STATE LINE.

The east line of Indiana, north of the Greenville treaty line, was surveyed by William Harris, in 1817, and E. P. Kendricks in 1827;¹⁶³ the last ten miles being surveyed by E. P. Kendricks. These ten miles had been taken from Michigan and added to Indiana. The northeast corner of Indiana, and the northwest corner of Ohio are not identical. In 1827, when the northeast corner of Indiana was established by Surveyor Kendricks, he made a record of 8 witness trees, so as

¹⁶² Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, pp. 101 and 102, Vol. 6, p. 308.

¹⁶³ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 198.

to securely preserve its location.¹⁶⁴ (In 1817, William Harris ran a line due east of the south end of Lake Michigan, a distance of 40 miles or more, the 44th mile post being 9.83 chains east of the second principal meridian. At 38 miles east of Lake Michigan, Harris located an Indian village. This was about 8 miles east of Laporte, and 2 miles north of Fish Lake.)

A substantial cylindrical monument marks the Ohio and Indiana state line, just north of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and on the Cincinnati and Lawrenceburg pike. The line is $7^{\circ} 45'$ longitude west from the city of Washington,¹⁶⁵ which is generally placed at $77^{\circ} 1' 34''$ west of Greenwich. The General Land Office places the Indiana-Ohio line at $84^{\circ} 48' 10''$ west of Greenwich, England. It is 182 miles, 61 chains and 44 links from the northeast corner of Indiana to the Miami and Ohio rivers.

SURVEY OF THE INDIANA AND ILLINOIS STATE LINE.

This line starts at a point on the northwest or right-hand bank of the Wabash river, 46 miles *due north of Vincennes*, from which point a sycamore 38 inches in diameter bears north 71° west, 20 links distant, and a second sycamore 30

¹⁶⁴ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 201; Indians often referred to "line trees," or "witness trees" as "trees of peace,"—Indiana and Indianans, Vol. I, p. 58.

¹⁶⁵ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, pp. 65, 67, 114-116; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 1; Lippincott's *New Gazetteer*, p. 1959; Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 1 and 208; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 136, 198, 216, 244, 269, 443, 497 and 523; *The Western Gazetteer*, Brown's, p. 37; "*Footprints of the Pioneers*," by Venable, p. 27; Read "The Articles of Compact"; "Constitution Making in Indiana," Vol. I, 51 and 74; (For boundaries of Indiana, see Constitution of Indiana, Sec. I, Art. 14).

inches bears north 84° east, 39 links distant.¹⁶⁶ By June 9, 1821, the surveyors had reached the fifteenth mile (near Sanford, Indiana,) going north at a variation of $6^{\circ} 25'$.¹⁶⁷ The twenty-seventh mile was reached on June 10th. At 76 miles and 65 chains the line crossed the south line of the Saint Mary's purchase.¹⁶⁸ At 122 miles and 38 chains a river was reached, and on the record is noted: "Illinois river or Kankakee river, so called here." On Monday, July 2, 1821, Lake Michigan was reached at 159 miles and 44 chains, and its waters at 159 miles and 46 chains. John McDonald was the Deputy United States Surveyor. This point was 11 miles, 4 chains and 46 links west, and 6 miles, 15 chains and 86 links north of the lake's southern extremity.¹⁶⁹ In February and March, 1834, the line was retraced from the 118th mile post north, by S. Sibley, Deputy Surveyor. He rebuilt many of Surveyor McDonald's old mounds. A large post was set in the sand bank on the border of Lake Michigan.¹⁷⁰ Sylvester Sibley, Deputy Surveyor, re-surveyed the Indiana and Illinois state line in pursuance to instructions from M. F. Williams, Surveyor General of the United States, under date of July 1, 1833. John Hodgson and Peter S. Galloway were the chainmen, and William Howard was the marker. The line is $11^{\circ} 1'$ of longitude west of the city of Washington.¹⁷¹ The General Land

¹⁶⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 121; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 123; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 3, p. 67, Vol. 4, pp. 201 and 223.

¹⁶⁸ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 133.

¹⁶⁹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 143; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁰ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 1 and 152.

¹⁷¹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 152; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 198, 216, 244, 269, 443, 497, 523; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 1; "Constitution Making in Indiana," Vol. 1, pp. 41, 51 and 74; Constitution of Indiana, Sec. 1, Art. 14.

Office places it at $87^{\circ} 31' 50''$ west of Greenwich, England. A government marker on the bank of the Wabash at Vincennes places its own longitude at $87^{\circ} 32' 27.79''$ west of Greenwich. It also records its own latitude at $38^{\circ} 48' 37.71''$. The bench mark on the court house shows the elevation to be 429.928. Vincennes was the *governing point* for the Illinois and Indiana state line.

SURVEY OF THE MICHIGAN AND INDIANA STATE LINE.

In 1827, E. P. Kendricks surveyed the northern boundary of Indiana. On October 8th, he commenced at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, at a corner that had been established by Surveyor Harris, in 1817. The cedar post¹⁷² placed by Surveyor Harris was entirely covered by sand, but Surveyor Kendricks found it by reason of having two aspen trees as pointers. The Michigan and Indiana line starts east 10 miles north of the south end of Lake Michigan.¹⁷³ He found the place by latitudes and departures. The Indiana and Michigan state line was marked on the east shore of Lake Michigan, by a pine tree 10 inches in diameter. The north side was marked "M. L." (Michigan Line); the south side, "I. L." (Indiana Line.) He used $6^{\circ} 10'$ as his variation. He reached the second principal meridian at 18 miles and 43.17 chains.

At 38 miles and 22 chains he recorded a road from Fort Wayne to Chicago. (This is about the northwest corner of Elkhart county.) At 77 miles and 37 chains he recorded

¹⁷² Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 4, pp. 201 and 223, Vol. 3, pp. 65, 114 and 116; Miscellaneous Record I, p. 203.

¹⁷³ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 155; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 136.

a trail from Fort Wayne to Nottawsepe.¹⁷⁴ (This was 6 miles west of the northeast corner of LaGrange county.) The north line was full of tamarisk marshes and swamps. At 93 miles and 7 chains a trail ran north and south. At 93 miles and 25.50 chains a trail crossed from Coldwater to Fort Wayne.¹⁷⁵ These were just north of Fremont, Indiana, and probably led to James Lake, or smaller lakes near by.) At 94 miles and 60 chains a trail ran north and south.¹⁷⁶ The northeast corner of Indiana is 104 miles and 49.55 chains east of Lake Michigan. North latitude $41^{\circ} 50'$, also recorded $42^{\circ} 10'$, and $41^{\circ} 43'$, etc. The General Land Office places it at $41^{\circ} 45' 35''$ north latitude.¹⁷⁷

INDIAN AND OTHER RESERVATIONS.

OLD FRENCH SURVEYS.

These tracts of land are in the main, to be found only in the "Vincennes Tract," generally only in Knox county. To satisfy the claims of the old French settlers, the United States directed to be set apart all the lands bounded on the west by the Wabash river; on the south by White river; on the east by the west branch of White river, and on the north by the Freeman line. Four hundred acres was the usual assign-

¹⁷⁴ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 181.

¹⁷⁵ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 185.

¹⁷⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 186.

¹⁷⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 1 and 189; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 136, 198, 216, 244, 269, 443, 497 and 523; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 1; "Constitution Making in Indiana," Vol. 1, pp. 41, 43, 47, 51 and 74; (For boundaries of Indiana, read Sec. 1, Art. 14, Constitution of Indiana).

ment to each person entitled to a donation. A French system was used. The tracts are very narrow and long, and run at right angles to rivers. The government surveyors in charge of the rectangular system, measured up to these lines and there closed their surveys. Very artistic maps were made of these surveys. In fact the most artistic maps in the state house are those hand-made maps in the plat books of the early government surveys in southern Indiana.¹⁷⁸ These French surveys were due to the fact that the United States confirmed the French in their possessions.

SURVEY OF THE MIAMI NATIONAL RESERVE, 1838-1839.

This reserve was surveyed in 1838 and 1839, under adverse circumstances. The survey began below the mouth of the Salamania river, and meandered down the "southerly" bank of the Wabash river. At 56 chains above the mouth of the Mississinewa river (near Peru), the Indian town of Mississinewa was located. At the mouth of the Mississinewa river the surveyors set a post 9 inches in diameter, with a "May pole" marked with 18 notches, and two sycamore trees as witnesses. The surveyor entered the following in his record: "Here the Indians held another council on the 6th of the month (November, 1819) which was much against me. My provisions were much wasted here, as we had to accompany their chiefs to the town, where the Indians made free with my bread. On the seventh they added another chief to my party, which I had to support with bread and meat."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*," pp. 66 and 67; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 76, 77, 101, 160, 161, 230, 461; Plat Book V, p. 157, etc.; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 2, pp. 425-434.

¹⁷⁹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 215.

At the mouth of Eel river the surveyors set a wild cherry post 9 inches in diameter. The date "1819" was marked on top. Near by a beech tree was marked "34½ M.", being the number of miles from the mouth of Salamonie river. It was also marked "M. K. T." There were also a sugar tree and a white oak for markers. This was on November 9, 1819. At this place the surveying party was detained by the Indians until November 11, 1819. This was the west side of the reserve, and about 5 miles east of the second principal meridian. The site is now recognized as Logansport.¹⁸⁰ From here the line ran south 34 miles and 43.20 chains. Eleven miles south of Logansport, near Deer creek, the Indians again became dissatisfied. At 17 miles and 30 chains the surveyor crossed a small river 200 links wide, which he named St. John's. At 28½ miles south of Logansport he crossed a road leading to an Indian village. This was about 7 miles north-east of Frankfort.

In writing of the southwest corner of the reserve, which is near Kirklin, Indiana, the surveyor noted: "We set the southwest corner of the reserve; a wild cherry post 9 inches in diameter, with the date of the year '1819' cut on top." On a beech he cut "S. W. cor. 34½ m. reserve, F. M. N.", and the date "1819." An ash was also recorded as a witness tree. On another beech, within the reserve, he cut "N. S. M. K. T. 1819, 34½ M." From here he started east, and when he had gone 1 mile the Indians became dissatisfied.¹⁸¹ He ran north 79° 51' East, 34 miles and 43.20 chains, passing south of Tipton, and established the southeast corner of the Miami National Reserve. (In time this reserve was ceded to the United States by treaties under date of October 23, 1834, November 6, 1838, and November 28, 1840.)

¹⁸⁰ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 13.

¹⁸¹ *Miscellaneous Record I*, p. 220.

At the southeast corner of the reserve he set a white oak post 10 inches in diameter, and 5 feet high. The top of it was marked "1819." A beech tree was marked "S. E. cor. of 34½ M. R. S. I. A. 1819;" another beech tree was marked "M. R. 34½ M. M. K. T. 1819." A white oak and a hickory stood near by. This corner is near Alexandria and Rigdon. The survey then went north to the mouth of the Salamonina river at Lagro. When the surveyor had reached 14 miles and 36.50 chains, which was west of Marion, and about 8 miles south of LaFontaine, he made this record in his field notes: "Here the Indians, in an imperious manner told me I was going wrong, and said I should go no farther that way, saying that I was going to go to their town and if I would not go 10 miles east of the town they would not let me go on. I saw by their looks and the way they behaved that I was unsafe, so I stopped. They would scarcely permit me to make a mark and appeared displeased. We left the line and started for Fort Recovery (Ohio) where we arrived on the 29th of the month. (November 29, 1819.)

"J. S. ALLEN, D. S."-

The next paragraph begins: "March 18, 1820. Began where the Indians stopped me on the 25th of November, 1819." The record shows that he completed the survey on March 20, 1820. He began November 3, 1818.¹⁸²

In November, 1838, the Miami Indians sold a tract of land along the northeast line of the reserve, and the survey was made May 9th, 10th and 11th, 1839, by A. St. C. Vance,¹⁸³ Deputy Surveyor. In this survey a record is made of a road leading from Deer creek to Peru. The line ran through an

¹⁸² Miscellaneous Record I, p. 225.

¹⁸³ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 226-231.

Indian village on Pipe creek, containing about 10 houses,¹⁸⁴ and crossed many Indian trails or paths. This Indian treaty line was about 20 miles long and ran east and west not far from LaFontaine, which is near the southeast corner.

THORNTOWN RESERVE.

In the survey of the "Thorntown Reserve," in 1822, a record is made of an Indian trace leading from Fort Wayne to Fort Harrison. Near by was a cluster of Indian wigwams. This trace could be easily re-located from the survey records which are exceptionally complete. The surveyor was Thomas Brown.¹⁸⁵

CHIEF RICHARDVILLE'S RESERVE.

In October, 1819, Surveyor Joseph A. Allen laid out a reservation for Chief Richardville, opposite the mouth of "Little River." It contained two sections."¹⁸⁶

RACCOON VILLAGE RESERVE.

In September, 1827, Surveyor Chauncey Carter surveyed the Raccoon Village Reserve, on A'boite river. This survey located several Indian roads that led to Fort Wayne.¹⁸⁷ During this same month Surveyor Carter also ran the boundary line from Tippecanoe river to Eel river.

¹⁸⁴ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 228; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. I, p. 152.

¹⁸⁵ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 265; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Vol. 6, p. 314; Brown's "*Western Gazetteer*," p. 72.

¹⁸⁶ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 271 and 272.

¹⁸⁷ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 276.

SEEK'S VILLAGE AND METEA'S VILLAGE.

Seek's village was on the southeast side of Eel river, and in November, 1827, a line was run from it to Metea's village, by Chauncey Carter.¹⁸⁸ In the plat of this survey many willow swamps and Indian trails are noted. Metea's village was on the banks of Cedar creek, near its junction with St. Joseph's river.¹⁸⁹ There was a reserve of 14 sections at Seek's village.

MISSISSINEWA RESERVE.

In the survey of a reserve five miles wide opposite the mouth of Mississinewa river, an Indian village is noted. The survey was made in July, 1827. Many islands are noted in the streams. Chauncey Carter made the survey, and made a very specific record of "line trees," etc.¹⁹⁰

WYANDOT VILLAGE RESERVE.

The Wyandot village reserve of five sections was surveyed for Jean B. Richardville, Long Hair, and others, and began at a spring in the center of the village. The reserve was on Wild Cat creek. The survey was made in September, 1823, by P. F. Kellogg. He also made a division for the Burnetts of their six sections,¹⁹¹ located below the mouth of the Tippecanoe river. Their names were Abrahara, Isaac, James and Rebecca.

¹⁸⁸ Miscellaneous Record I, pp. 291, 295 and 300.

¹⁸⁹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 295.

¹⁹⁰ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 313.

¹⁹¹ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 319.

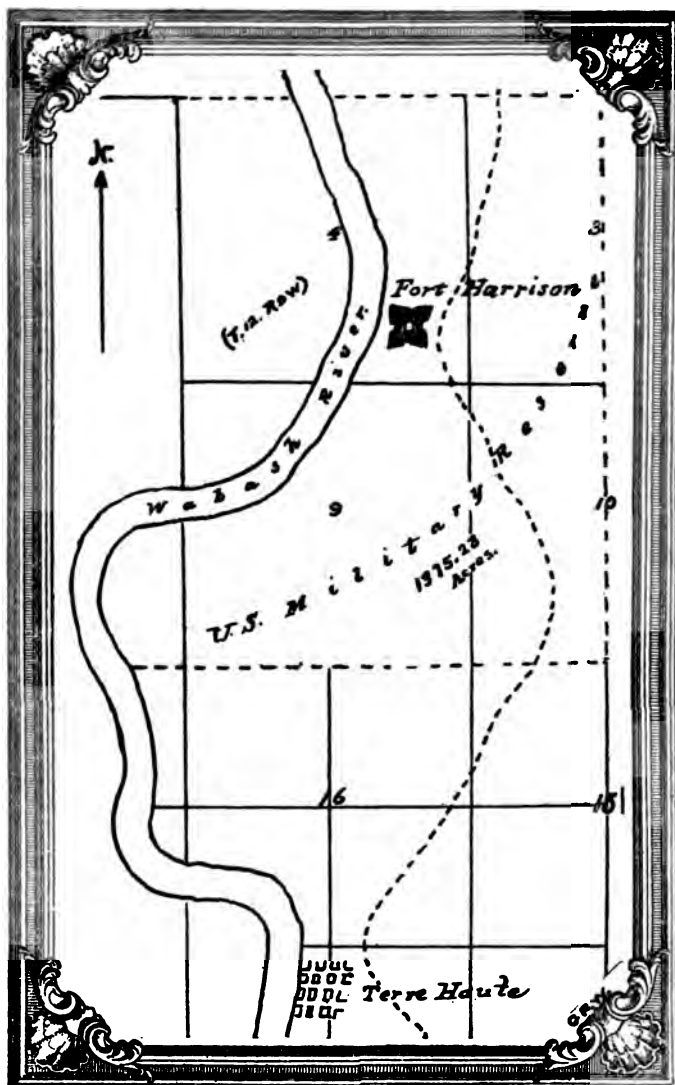


PLATE 11.

The above is a tracing of the official government hand-made map with the technical figures of the surveyor omitted. The tracing shows only that part of the reservation nearest the fort.

SUGAR CREEK RESERVE.

The Sugar creek reserve was on the west bank of the Wabash river and north of the mouth of Raccoon creek. It included an Indian village and joined the north line of the Harrison Purchase for the first seven miles easterly from the mouth of Raccoon creek, commonly known as the "Ten O'clock Line." The survey was made by William Harris.¹⁹²

TECHNICAL LOCATION OF FORT HARRISON.

Fort Harrison was located by the government surveyors in section 4 near Terre Haute. The old Plat Book number 2, pages 84 and 85 has a very good drawing indicating the location of the fort. The military reservation around it contained 1,375.23 acres. Another military reservation of 487 acres was located across the river and to the north.¹⁹³

TYPICAL ROAD AND SWAMP SURVEYS.

THE MICHIGAN ROAD SURVEYS.

In 1828, a survey of the Michigan road 100 feet wide, began where Trail creek emptied into Lake Michigan. It came to Indi-

¹⁹² Miscellaneous Record I. p. 329.

¹⁹³ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 1, p. 178; Volume 2, p. 131; Volume 3, p. 55 and 280; Map p. 176, Volume 4; Volume 6, pp. 305, 306 and 310; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 462, 489 and 578; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 68, 69, 79, 87, 88, 89, 96, 131, 135, 145, 161, 211, 232, 233 and 444; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, (1817), pp. 47 and 48, pp. 68, 69.

anapolis "by the south bend of the St. Joseph river and Eel river" [Logansport] and ended in front of "the governor's house in the town of Indianapolis." The commissioners on this part were John I. Neely, Chester Elliott and John McDonald. Where South Bend now stands was the "American Fur Company's Establishment." The map of this part of the road is well drawn, and contains a desperate attempt to sketch the governor's house, at the end of the map. In the field notes, about the thirty-eighth mile from Lake Michigan are these words: "At this [point] is a beautiful cite [site] for a town."¹⁹⁴ South Bend is the answer. The surveyor's record or entry bears date of November 3 and 4, 1828. John McDonald and John K. Graham were the surveyors.

The field notes of the south half of the road show that the survey began at Madison, on Monday, May 17, 1830, and that a state road was to be laid out from Madison, through Indianapolis, to Lake Michigan. The act creating this southern commission was approved January 30, 1830. William Polk, Abraham McClellan and Samuel Hanna were the commissioners. Thomas Reaugh was the surveyor. A good map accompanies the survey records. The road was surveyed by "calls," i. e. courses and distances. The two parts of the Michigan road met at Indianapolis. A monument marks the point where the Madison division entered Washington street.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 144; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 2, pp. 196 and 438; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, (1817) pp. 45-47.

¹⁹⁵ Records on file with the State Auditor; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 5, pp. 55-60—a good article; see Map p.40, Volume 5, also p. 112; Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 571.

KIBBEY'S ROAD.

In Dearborn county there is an old road known as "Kibbey's Road." It is marked on the records by surveyors. It entered Dearborn county at the Greenville treaty line near Holman and went east, south of Manchester. Another old trail ran east and west, north of Aurora, Cochran, and south of Chesterville.¹⁹⁸ The Kibbey road ran from Cincinnati to Vincennes.

SURVEYING THE SWAMPS OF THE KANKAKEE RIVER, ETC.

The survey of northwestern Indiana was a source of much hard work on the part of the "swamp Moses." The records left by the surveyors of that part of Indiana were so full of lamentations that they would have put Jeremiah to shame, yet so faithful and patient were the surveyors that Job would have found his equal. Let us hope their rewards were in proportion.

In commenting upon township 33 north, range 6 west, about Aylesworth, in Porter county, Surveyor Uriah Biggs, in his report of January 5, 1835, says: "This township is generally unsusceptible of cultivation. A small portion of the north part only, can be cultivated. The Kankakee river is rather a sluggish stream, its banks very low and lined on each side with a heavy growth of timber, mostly ash, some elm, maple, oak and birch, which grow very tall, and is undergrown with swamp alder and wild rose, etc., making an interminable forest which is covered with water during the sea-

¹⁹⁸ Plat Book 1, pp. 39-45; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 2, p. 107; Volume I, pp. 256, 259, 260, 279, 292, 294, 340, 341 and 347.

son. The soil in this forest or swamp is loose yellow sand which renders it almost impracticable to approach the river, only when the swamp is frozen. In the marshes on the north part of the township there are large beds of rich iron ore."¹⁹⁷ Practically all surveyors reported iron ore in these swamps in northwest Indiana.

In 1835, in speaking of the Yellow river, Jeremiah Smith, the surveyor of township 33 north, range 3 west, says: "The line could not be seen, as it lay principally in the expanded water of Yellow river, which is here mingling with and assuming the garb of its mother, Kankakee."¹⁹⁸ The same surveyor laid out township 34, and in his record says: "There is but little room left for general remarks in this township. There is such an endless sameness of marsh, interspersed with a few groves of timber that there is nothing upon which to digress from the monotony of lamentation. There seems to be every indication of iron ore in this township, also, but I am not mineralogist sufficient to say positively that there is any, or in what abundance it exists."¹⁹⁹ The surveyors of township 36 north, range 5 west, and of township 31 north of range 6 west, also reported iron ore.²⁰⁰ There was, no doubt, a "needle disturbance" that led to the report of iron ore. Just what caused this disturbance is not known.

Jeremiah Smith, in his report on township 33 north, range 1 west, which is known as Washington township, in Starke county, says: "The upland rolling parts of this township have a loose white sandy soil, in some places so loose that a person will sink an inch or two in walking over it. But little vegetation or undergrowth or shrubbery here. On the parts

¹⁹⁷ Record 22, *North and West*, p. 430.

¹⁹⁸ Record 20, *North and West*, p. 437.

¹⁹⁹ Record 20, *North and West*, p. 477.

²⁰⁰ Record 22, *North and West*, pp. 220 and 360.

lower or more level the soil though still sandy assumes a more yellowish and in some places very near a black clay. The prairies are either dry, by which I mean such as can be cultivated, or they are wet, or they are wet and marshy. The soil of the prairie is generally black, but the dry spots are so few and far between that tilling is out of the question, yet a good part of them are excellent for grazing. South of Yellow river in sections 19, 20 and 29 is as rich a pasturage as is to be found anywhere. The grass is thickly set and looks like an oat-field just before it heads. In it were a few Indian ponies keeping fat and wallowing in nature's choicest luxuries. Some of the prairies are too marshy for grazing, and what use they can be put to, I can't tell. The river is very crooked and full of timber. Its bottoms on its right bank are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, which is very thickly set with a tall heavy growth of timber in which is to be found nearly all the varieties of the continent. The soil is black and rich and would be valuable were it not that it overflows, has bayous through it, or stink-holes filled with stagnant water, or a black alder and rose-brier pond, or marsh. Some or all of these things are so perpetually occurring as to render the land of little or no value, only for the timber. South of the river or on its left bank is prairie, irregular in its width and generally wet. Sometimes the timber gets over onto the south side, or rather the river runs northward into the timber, but it soon returns. Eagle creek runs through a marshy prairie, the whole way, though it sometimes is very narrow and always wet." ²⁰¹

On April 22, 1834, this same surveyor, Jeremiah Smith, in commenting on township 34, range 1 west, makes this record: "The general appearance of this township [Oregon, in Starke

²⁰¹ Record IX, pp. 225, 226 and 227; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, 1817, pp. 45-46, 78.

county] is rather uninviting to the capitalist and land speculator, but to the poor man and him who wishes to act the 'squatter' it holds out some inducements. The soil is generally sandy, on the rolling parts loose and white with but little soil or vegetation; on the lower and more level parts the land is more compact and of a darker color and generally pretty good sod or coat of roots, matted or near the surface. In the wet prairies the sods are from 6 to 18 inches in height and about the same dimensions as to length and breadth. Their distances asunder include every change of space from zero or 0 to 12 inches and of all the places ever a poor wight had to walk over with 'heads up' and 'eyes front' they are the worst. The marshes or marsh prairies are more smooth to walk over, but not a bit more pleasant to walk over than the prairies, for though we have not the stubby sods to be stumbling over continually we have water and a marshy substance to wade through and the whole placed upon a yielding elastic sod; all of which combined makes the labour of traversing them almost worthy to be laid along side and considered a parallel with the labour in the retreat of Henophen with his ten thousand Greeks."

"On sections 10 and 15 and a part of section 16 is some pretty good land which would pay a man for cultivation. The balance of the town is either too wet to cultivate or so poor as not to justify cultivation, but a great part of it is very good for grazing, and that is why I think squatters may be induced to come here, as they need not be in fear of being bought out. On the northeast shore of Woodworth's Lake is a pretty eminence to build on in view of the lake but it is ruined by having a miserable tamarisk swamp right ferninst (opposite) its back."²⁰²

²⁰² Record IX, *North and West*, pp. 262 and 263.

Surveyor Smiths' parents evidently knew why they called him "Jeremiah"—perhaps they anticipated his ability at lamentations.

On June 21, 1834, Surveyor William Clark, in closing his record of his survey of township 36 north, range 1 west, near Fish Lake, in Laporte county, says: "The Kankakee river and its branches present the appearance of ponds or lakes rather than running streams, and are inaccessible in almost every place. There are many places near the shores where the weight of a man will shake the marshes for acres together." ²⁰³

Samuel Goodnow, surveyor of township 31 north, range 9 west, at Lake Village, in Newton county, on March 3, 1835, makes this entry: "A great portion of this township is not prairie, or in other words entirely a marsh. There is a small portion of timber growing along the margin of the Kankakee river; the whole township bears the aspect of that of the surrounding country, alike interspersed with sand ridges which are dry, and denotes a country destitute of any inducement to invite the emigrant to locate there. The marshes are principally covered with alder and wild rice. The timber upon the sand ridge before mentioned is black and white oak, and some under bush; that along the river, birch, maple, swamp ash and some willow. In many places it is difficult to tell where the bed of the Kankakee river is placed. Such is the unfavorable aspect of the country that I cannot in justice give a more flattering character and keep within bounds of all matters pertaining to facts." ²⁰⁴

And thus run the records along the Kankakee almost all its course through Indiana. Early travelers called that part of Indiana the "champaign country."

²⁰³ Record IX, *North and West*, p. 341.

²⁰⁴ Record 24, *North and West*, p. 185; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, 1817, p. 43.

INTERESTING DISCOVERIES AND INCIDENTS RECORDED BY THE SURVEYORS.

The surveyors, following their instructions, not only recorded important physical features of the country surveyed, but occasionally recorded some unusual and important incident occurring while making their surveys. A few of their discoveries and incidents are deemed of sufficient importance to be here noted.

GOVERNMENT SURVEYORS LOCATE FRENCH LICK AND WEST BADEN SPRINGS.

On November 22-24, 1804, Edward W. Tupper and Augustus Stone, Deputy Government Surveyors, were surveying in township 1, north range 2 west, near French Lick. Their field notes contain this memorandum:

"In section 3, 5 chains and 60 links due south from 49 chains and 50 links, on last mile (S. E. cor. Sec. 34) is a salt spring breaking out at the foot of a hill near the surface of the ground. The quality of the water I could not ascertain, but the quantity appeared to me to be sufficient to form a sheet of water two feet wide and one inch deep. About 4 chains southeast of this spring is another *salt* spring affording more than double the quantity of water which appeared at the first spring, [French Lick.] Those two springs uniting with a fresh water spring which breaks out between the two continue along near the surface of the ground, and form a brook or creek of from 12 to 20 feet in width, in the bottom of which at a number of places may be seen other *salt* springs boiling up through the fresh water. And though the several fresh and salt springs uniting form a stream 6 or 8

inches deep and of at least 16 feet in width; yet some distance below where the springs appear the whole creek appears strongly impregnated with salt. Other springs make their appearance, when the waters are low in the branch of what I call *Salt Lick Creek* as it runs through the next mile square north, or in section 34, in township 2 north, range 2 west. [West Baden.] I am well convinced any quantity of salt water might be obtained by digging in case the springs are found weaker than the quantity of salt water in general. It will be necessary to *reserve* the section 34 in township 2 north range, 2 west, as the appearance for salt water by digging is equally as good on that side of the line as in section 3, township 1 north, range 2 west, south of that mile-square."²⁰⁵

The surveyors did not give the springs their names. French Lick and West Baden are indicated on the survey plats of 1804, as "Salt Springs, on Salt Creek," and running down the creek a distance of two miles.²⁰⁶

FOOTE'S POND SURVEY, RATTLE SNAKE DEN.

Foote's Grave Pond is in Gibson county, in sections 15, 16, 21 and 22, township 3, south range 13 west. Near the west bank is an ancient mound 30 feet high.²⁰⁷ The pond was finally surveyed in 1844, by Nath. L. Squibb. In his field notes he records finding "a den where 300 rattle-snakes are said to have been killed in one day."²⁰⁸ He also seems to

²⁰⁵ Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, 1817, pp. 49, 64 and 65 and 80; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 60, 61 and 521; Volume 2, *North and West*, pp. 81 and 82.

²⁰⁶ Plat Book V, pp. 138 and 139; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 60, 61, 278 and 521; *Sylvia Scarlet*, by Compton Mackenzie.

²⁰⁷ Plat Book V, p. 88.

²⁰⁸ Record 10, West, p. 185; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 170.

have had great difficulty in his survey, for he closes his entry thus: "Spent one-half day searching No. 2 [a corner] and found none. Could get no corners better than to run the lines from Foote's pond and from the assurance of all the hunters we found that there was nothing but a brushy slue; [slough] there, we left it."

In 1806, William Rector made some of the original field notes of township 3,²⁰⁹ and also made part of the survey. It is quite likely that Foote's field notes were lost with him. The pond is about 20 chains across and almost 1 mile long.²¹⁰ The official field notes, as now known, do not record the accident that cost Foote's life.²¹¹ The story of the accident is as follows: Ziba Foote, then not twenty-one, lost his life April 30, 1806, in the pond which bears his name, in this manner:

He was conducting a government survey about the pond, and attempted to pass through the pond with his compass and Jacob-staff fastened to his belt. In this condition he had gone but a short distance when he got over his depth, and being encumbered by his compass and staff, sank to rise no more. Two hours afterward his body was recovered. His remains were placed in a bark coffin and buried late that evening on a small hill near the pond. He was born in Newtown, Connecticut, July 4, 1785, graduated at Yale with great honor, at the age of twenty. He was surveying under the direction of William Rector, deputy surveyor to Surveyor General Mansfield, of Cincinnati, when he lost his life. Many years after the accident his remains were removed to Bedford, Indiana, by his brother, Dr. W. Foote, and placed

²⁰⁹ Record 10, p. 83.

²¹⁰ Plat Book V, p. 89.

²¹¹ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 170; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 2, pp. 359-365.

in a native stone sepulcher near Bedford. The complete story forms an interesting chapter of early Indiana history.²¹²

N. HARLAN'S FERRY, IN PIKE COUNTY.

Township 1 north, range 9 west, was surveyed by H. Bradley, D. Sullivan and R. Buntin in 1805 and 1807. In their surveys they meandered both banks of White river. Harlan's Ferry touched the south, or left-hand bank of White river at 41 chains up the river from the south line of section 1, and the right-hand bank of the river at 22.50 chains down the river from the east line of said section 1. This makes a very exact description of the route of the ferry boat. The left-hand bank of the river here was surveyed, in 1805, by H. Bradley, Jr.²¹³ The right-hand bank was surveyed, in 1807, by Daniel Sullivan.²¹⁴ The "Buffalo trace" crossed White river at this point, hence the ferry right may have been valuable.²¹⁵

A pioneer, probably N. Harlan, had settled on the bank of the river, and his possessions were surveyed and recorded as "Claim No. 3."²¹⁶ He was there before the land was divided into sections, so the surveyors made a special survey of his land and called it "Claim No. 3." He had land on both sides of the river. Many think Abraham Lincoln crossed White river at this ferry, in 1830, on his way to Illinois. It is perhaps the oldest ferry on White river, for it was at the

²¹² Histories of Gibson county, and Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 2, pp. 359-365.

²¹³ Record IX, *North and West*, pp. 403-406.

²¹⁴ Record IX, *North and West*, p. 409.

²¹⁵ Plat Book V, p. 157.

²¹⁶ Record IX, pp. 411-425.

place the buffaloes crossed, and thousands of pioneers followed the "Buffalo trail," subsequently called "Buffalo trace," before other overland roads were cut out from Cincinnati and Louisville to Vincennes. There was a ferry near Petersburg, Indiana,²¹⁷ before 1798. It was operated by a Mr. Morrison, later of Aurora, Indiana.

SUPPOSED COPPER MINE.

In submitting an Indian treaty for ratification, on December 10, 1809, General William Henry Harrison wrote the government: "This small tract of about twenty miles square) is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, and is moreover, believed to contain a very rich copper mine. I have, myself, frequently seen specimens of the copper; one of which I sent to Mr. Jefferson, in 1802. The Indians were so extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine that the traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills, which are supposed to contain the mine."²¹⁸ The treaty was signed December 9, 1809, and pertains to lands on the Wabash and Vermillion rivers, being in a direct line 20 miles from the mouth of the Vermillion river.

In 1793, George Inlay, a traveler wrote: "The copper mine on the Wabash is, perhaps the richest vein of copper in the bowels of the whole earth."²¹⁹ Of course, that is a

²¹⁷ Plat Book V, pp. 157-161; Record 9, *North and West*, pp. 403-406 and 411; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 2, p. 366, under *Sketch of Samuel Morrison*.

²¹⁸ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 11, 129, 221, 28 and 38; American State Papers, Class II, *Indian Affairs*, p. 762; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 6, p. 319.

²¹⁹ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 11.

dream. In 1817, the Indians brought one lump of copper that weighed 28 pounds to Fort Harrison. It is supposed that the Indians found it about thirty miles above the mouth of Raccoon creek. These pieces were probably scattered on the surface and were brought down from the south shore of Lake Superior by glacial drifts.²²⁰

WILD PIGEON ROOST.

At the half-section corner between sections 16 and 17, township 3, south range 5 west, in Cass township, in Dubois county, the surveyors found a wild pigeon roost. The forest trees were stripped of their branches by the weight of the birds, and the ground was covered with pigeon excrement.²²¹ The official record reads: "Is a pigeon roost where the ground is covered with dung and the trees generally stripped of their branches." ²²²

EAST FORK OF WHITE RIVER SURVEYED ON ICE. (DRIFTWOOD FORK.)

Between Dubois, Daviess and Martin counties the meanderings of White river were taken on the ice, January 24, 1805, by Surveyor David Sandford. He refers to High Rock, in Daviess county, near the line of ranges 5 and 6, as "a remark-

²²⁰ *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 93 and 129; *The Dunes in Northern Indiana*, State Geologist's Reports, 1918, Indiana; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, p. 8a.

²²¹ Record V, *South and West*, pp. 56-70, State Auditor's Office.

²²² *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 49, 278, 316, 337, 456, 510 and 521; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 81; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 1, p. 53; Volume 5, p. 317.

able ledge of rocks on the north bank" [of White river]. His initials "D. S." are cut in this rock.

David Sandford was a native of Newtown, Connecticut, and graduated from Yale in 1804, and in 1805 sub-divided range 5, of the Vincennes tract, through what are now Dubois, Daviess and Martin counties. He also had a contract to survey a reserve of four townships at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee river, but took sick at Fort Wayne and died there, Friday, October 11, 1805. He was buried the same day at sunset. The writer has re-surveyed many of his lines in range 5, and bears testimony to the young surveyor's efficiency. Sandford [Sanford] was a careful surveyor and left copious field notes. He was about twenty-five when he died.²²³

Navigable rivers had to be surveyed. Smaller rivers were measured in as land. The legislature appointed Surveyor Alexander Ralston to survey the west fork of White river, in 1825.

LILIES RETARD SURVEY.

In October, 1823, while making a survey of a tract 10 miles square opposite the river A'boite, (on Little river south) [Fort Wayne] Price F. Kellogg, the surveyor, found "an impassable lily pond," and had to offset 6½ chains to get by it.²²⁴

²²³ Indiana Historical Society's Publication, Volume 2, pp. 359 and 360; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, pp. 88-98; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 5, p. 62; *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 62; Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, 1817, p. 38-40.

²²⁴ Miscellaneous Record I, p. 233.

MARBLE QUARRY.

There is a record of a "quarry of stone resembling marble," in Plat Book 1, page 99. The quarry is located about 3 miles east of Dupoint, in Jefferson county.

SURVEYORS IN DANGER.

In Cockrum's Pioneer History of Indiana mention is made of surveyors having trouble with the Indians. In the record of the survey of range IX, north and west, page 401, this entry appears: "Continued by Daniel Sullivan," which indicates the survey might have been suddenly suspended.

SWEARING IN CHAIN-CARRIER.

While surveying in township 2, range 1 west, not far from French Lick, Surveyor Arthur Henri found it necessary to swear in a new chain-carrier. His oath is written in the field notes, and reads as follows:

"I, James Ireland, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God that in all measurements and surveys in which I shall be employed as chain-carrier, I will faithfully and impartially execute the trust reposed in me, so help me God."

His

"JAMES X IRELAND.

Mark

"Sworn and subscribed to before me, this 27th day of August, 1806.²²⁵

ARTHUR HENRI, D. S."

²²⁵ Record I, *North and West*, p. 61.

BASE LINE CAVE IN ORANGE COUNTY.

On the Base Line 370 feet west of the southeast corner of township 1, north range 2 west, about 6 miles east of the west line of Orange county, and about 6 or 7 miles southeast of French Lick, Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., who surveyed the base line, found a remarkable cave. He says: "A remarkable cave, mouth about 30 feet in diameter. This cave descends perpendicular about 40 feet, then continues southeast about 6 rods, then out at the side of a hill."²²⁶ October 15, 1804.

"ANDERSON'S RIVER."

In the field notes of Perry county, 1805, Anderson river, over which Abraham Lincoln conducted a ferry several years later, was referred to as "Anderson's river."²²⁷

SHIELD'S TRADING HOUSE.

At Seymour, Indiana, near the southeast corner of section 7, the surveyor's field notes show an improvement in 1807-1809, extending into sections 8 and 18, and marked "Improvements, Shield's Trading House." A drawing shows the "house." It was between the Grouseland treaty line and White river.²²⁸

²²⁶ Volume II, *North and West*, p. 77.

²²⁷ *Venable's Footprints of the Pioneers*, p. 108; Volume III, *South and West*, p. 119; Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 6, Map, p. 296-7; *Early Travels in Indiana*, pp. 137, 213 and 270; *The Western Gazetteer* by Samuel R. Brown, p. 37.

²²⁸ Plat Book I, p. 127.

SURVEYOR DISCOVERS COAL IN DUBOIS COUNTY.

West between sections 23 and 26, in township 1 north, range 5 west, appears this record: 62.20 chains from the southeast corner of section 23, township 1 north, range 5 west, "intersected left bank of White river; about 20 chains down the bank of the river from the place where this line meets the river there is a considerable stratum of excellent coal under a ledge of rocks that faces the river;"²²⁹ Tuesday, November 13, 1804. It was marked 'coal land.' "

PIONEER EXPRESSIONS USED BY PIONEER SURVEYORS.

The government surveyors described the land, etc., by such expressions as "wavelly land," "gladly land," "somewhat gladly land," "middling soil," "sorry land," "low sloughy land," "run of a spring," "bed of a run," "brow of a hill."²³⁰ Work was not always suspended on Sunday.

MCDONALD'S CABIN AND THE MUDHOLES.

The surveyor's map in Plat Book V, page 27, shows the location of McDonald's cabin near the Mudholes, in Dubois county. He was the first settler in Dubois county. The Mudholes were often mentioned in General Harrison's military orders in territorial days. They were near the Buffalo trail,²³¹ at a point where the trail was crossed by a spur of

²²⁹ Volume V, *North and West*, p. 258.

²³⁰ Record V, *North and West*, on almost any page.

²³¹ *Early Travels in Indiana*, p. 520.

the "Yellow Banks trail." Captain Dubois, after whom Dubois county was named, entered the land upon which the McDonald family had "squatted." "Yellow Banks" is now recognized as Owensboro, Kentucky.²³²

SHAWNEE TRACE.

This trace is technically located in the southeast corner of township 2 north, range 13 west, in Illinois, southwest of Vincennes.²³³ It was a road from Vincennes to the south, and only incidentally connected with Indiana. The word Shawnee means "Southerner."

Space will not permit special mention in this paper of the surveys locating the state capital at Indianapolis, the Internal Improvement Surveys,²³⁴ and other important surveys, the material facts relating to which have been included in various Indiana state and county histories, various historical papers, included in previous volumes of the publications of the Indiana Historical Society.

(Indianapolis, January 1, 1919.)

²³² Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 6, pp. 290, 296 and 297.

²³³ Plat Book II, p. 121; *Indiana and Indianans*, Volume 1, p. 95; *The Birkbeck Colony*.

²³⁴ Indiana Historical Society's Publications, Volume 1, pp. 153, 154, 155; Volume 2, pp. 190, 191, 379 and 381; Volume 5, pp. 40, 41, 52, 62 and 158; Dr. Esarey's *Indiana*, Chapter XVI contains a splendid review of Improvement Surveys.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

The first five volumes of the publications are completed; and are sold at \$1.50 per volume, net, by the Society's publishers—The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis—to whom all orders should be addressed. These volumes are uniform, 8vo. uncut, with continuous paging. They are fully indexed, and are bound in cloth.

Owing to disappointment in receiving copy for a proposed number, two new volumes have been commenced, and neither is completed. The completed numbers of Vols. 6 and 7 are as follows:

VOL. 6—IN PREPARATION.

- No. 1, Proceedings Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, edited by Prof. Harlow Lindsey, 270 pages.
- No. 2, Journal of Thomas Dean; A Voyage to Indiana in 1817. Edited by John Candee Dean; Annotated by Randle C. Dean; 75 pages.

VOL. 7—IN PREPARATION.

- No. 1, Sieur-de-Vincennes Identified, by Pierre George Roy; 130 pages.
 - No. 2, Morgan's Raid in Indiana, by Judge Louis B. Ewbank; 50 pages.
- Separate numbers can be had at 50 cents each.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

VOL. VI.

No. IV.

Minutes of the Society 1886-1918



INDIANAPOLIS
C. H. PAULEY & Co.
1919

PREFACE.

At the reorganization of the Indiana Historical Society, in 1886, it was decided not to print the Proceedings and the Papers in separate volumes, but to include all of them in a series of Publications, the minutes being restricted to a relation of the business transacted at the various meetings, and published from time to time as desired.

Accordingly all of the records of the Society from its organization until 1886 were collected and printed in Vol. I of the Society's Publications, since when none of the minutes have been published. It is now deemed desirable by the Executive Committee to publish the minutes from the reorganization of 1886 to the close of 1918, and they are presented in the following pages.

REORGANIZATION OF 1886.

SPECIAL MEETING.

April 8, 1886.

The Indiana Historical Society met at the State Library rooms (S. E. corner of Market and Tennessee streets) at 8 p. m.

On motion of General Coburn, Wm. W. Woollen was called to the chair, and thereupon General Coburn was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The Society then proceeded to the election of members, and Wm. H. English, Daniel Wait Howe, Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., William De M. Hooper, John R. Wilson, Addison C. Harris, John H. Holliday, John C. Shoemaker, William R. Holloway, Elijah Halford, John A. Finch, George C. Hitt and Byron K. Elliott were elected members.

On motion, the Secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the Society for the following named officers:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Executive Committee—	John R. Wilson, A. C. Harris,
	A. L. Roache, W. DeM. Hooper, Jacob P.
	Dunn, Jr.

The ballot was accordingly cast by the Secretary and the officers were installed and assumed the duties of their respective offices.

The charter and constitution of the Society were read and the latter was on motion referred to a committee of three for examination. The chair appointed Messrs. Wilson, Woollen and Dunn on this committee.

The following resolution was introduced by Mr. Dunn:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to construct on behalf of the Society with any reliable publishing firm for the publication of papers under the auspices of the Society; *provided*, that no cost or risk of publication shall fall on the Society. Adopted.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, it was decided that when the Society adjourned it should adjourn to meet on call of the Secretary at the request of three members.

On motion of Mr. Woollen, Judge Howe was requested to read a paper on the "Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories" before the Society at an early date.

After some general discussion of the purposes and wants of the Society, the meeting adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

April 17, 1886.

The Society met at the State Library rooms at 8 p. m., President English in the chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted.

The Committee appointed to examine and report on the Constitution reported as follows: "Your Committee to which was referred the Constitution of the Society would respectfully report that the original Constitution of 1830 has been several

times amended and revised, to-wit, in the years 1859, 1873 and 1877. As now amended and revised, it reads in the words and figures following, to-wit:

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 1. The name of this Society shall be The Indiana Historical Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of all materials calculated to shed light on the natural, civil, and political history of Indiana; the publication and circulation of historical documents; the promotion of useful knowledge; and the friendly and profitable intercourse of such citizens as are disposed to promote these ends.

ART. 3. There shall be an annual public meeting of the Society on the last Thursday in December of each year, at such hour and place as may be designated by the President and Secretary in the notice thereof, which notice shall be given by publication in the daily papers of Indianapolis. A private meeting of the Society may be called at any time by the President, or, in case of death or absence of the President, by any officer of the Society at the request of any three members, and there shall be the like power to call a public meeting at any time on the request of five members. At any meeting six members shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be.

1st. A President, who shall preside and preserve order at all meetings of the Society.

2nd. Three Vice Presidents, one of whom, in the order of election, shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the President.

3rd. A Corresponding Secretary, who shall be charged with all correspondence required by the affairs of the Society.

4th. A Recording Secretary, who shall record and preserve the minutes of the Society.

5th. A Treasurer, who shall receive all moneys due the Society, and hold the same subject to its order, and make an annual report of all receipts and disbursements.

6th. An Executive Committee of five members, any three of whom shall constitute a quorum, whose duty it shall be to meet on the days upon which the Society holds its sessions, or at such other times as they deem expedient; to select subjects for public lectures and appoint the individuals by whom the same shall be delivered at the annual meeting of the Society; to attend to the publication of such lectures and other documents as they may deem expedient; to take charge of all books, papers, specimens, models, curiosities, pictures, etc., belonging to the Society and to submit reports of their proceedings at the meetings of the Society. They shall have power to make by-laws not inconsistent with the Constitution; to direct and superintend all disbursements; and generally to carry into effect all measures not otherwise provided for.

ART. 5. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer shall have the privilege of sitting with the Executive Committee and voting on all measures that come before it.

ART. 6. On application of any person for membership, his name shall be balloted upon by the members present, and if he receive a majority of three-fourths of all the ballots cast he shall be declared elected. When any person so elected shall have signed the Constitution and paid his dues for the first year, he shall be entitled to the privileges of membership. Any member may be expelled for misconduct injurious to the Society by a three-fourths vote of those present at any meeting; *Provided*, that at least one week's public notice of such meeting shall be given, and such member shall have equal notice of the charges preferred against him.

ART. 7. Officers shall be elected by ballot at the annual meetings of the Society and shall continue in office for one year, and until their successors are elected. Vacancies in any office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the next meeting of the Society, at which time the vacant office shall be filled by ballot. Any officer may be removed from office for malfeasance or misconduct injurious to the Society, under the regulations prescribed for the expulsion of members.

ART. 8. Each member shall pay into the hands of the Treasurer one dollar annually as dues. On failure to pay such dues within thirty days after December 30 of each year, or after the delinquent's election to membership, such delinquent shall be suspended from all privileges of membership without motion, and after thirty days delinquency during suspension, after notice by the Secretary, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to strike his name from the rolls, and he shall no longer be a member; nor shall any such person be again eligible for membership until his arrearages are paid.

ART. 9. Any member of the Society shall at any time have the right of withdrawing, upon filing with the Secretary a notice in writing of such intention, accompanied by the Treasurer's receipt in full for all dues.

ART. 10. This Constitution shall be subject to amendment at any meeting of the Society by a vote of three-fourths of the members *resent*; *Provided*, that an amendment offered at any meeting shall lay over to the next meeting before being adopted.

Your committee reports that this Constitution provides for all the needs of the Society, and recommend that the Recording Secretary be instructed to copy it in the new record provided for that purpose, and that the signatures of all members be appended thereto.

The report and recommendation were adopted.

The Executive Committee reported informally that they had accepted a proposition from the Bowen-Merrill Co. for the publication of Judge Howe's pamphlet on "The Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories," at their expense; they to furnish the Society one hundred copies and pay ten per cent. royalty on all sales above 200 copies.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, thanks were returned to Miss Callis for a tender of the use of the State Library rooms for future meetings, and also to Mr. Hooper for the gift of this minute-book to the Society.

On motion, Mr. Woollen and Mr. Hooper were appointed a committee to procure and have placed all necessary locks and bolts for the library cases of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the election of new members, and the following names were proposed and, on ballot, declared elected: Maurice Thompson, Prof. A. B. Woodford (of Bloomington), John C. New, Wade Ritter, Hubert M. Skinner, F. M. Crouse and Lewis Jordan.

On motion of General Coburn, the Corresponding Secretary was directed to solicit photographs and other pictures of prominent men and of the scenery of the state.

On motion, resolved that all old members who fail to pay their dues for the current year within 30 days from this date be dropped from the rolls and be no longer members.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

June 16, 1886.

The Society met at the State Library rooms at 8 p. m., Vice-President Coburn in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted.

The Society proceeded at once to the election of members, and the following names were proposed and, on ballot, declared elected: Prof. David S. Jordan and Prof. John G. Newkirk, of Bloomington; Mr. Albert Henderson, of Lafayette; Prof. J. W. Moncrief, of Franklin; Prof. J. J. Mills, of Richmond; Hon. Jos. E. McDonald, J. W. Holcombe, Wm. Wallace, A. B. Young, Charles Martindale, Gen. Thos. A. Morris and John T. Dye, of Indianapolis.

The Society then took up the consideration of the selection of an orator for the next annual meeting, and, after discussing several names, the Executive Committee was directed to invite Hon. E. B. Washburne to deliver an address on that occasion.

On motion, the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to correspond with the Ohio Historical Society, and ascertain what part it was desirable for Indiana to take in the proposed centennial celebration of the settlement of Northwest Territory to be held at Marietta on April 7, 1888.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, General Coburn was requested to deliver before the Society, at a public meeting to be held about September 1, 1886, an address on the life and character of John B. Dillon.

On motion, Mr. John H. Holliday was requested to prepare for publication the journals of General Tipton in his possession, with notes and a sketch of General Tipton.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

September 18, 1886.

The Society met at Superior Court room No. 2, at 8 p. m. President English presiding.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

The Society proceeded to the election of members, the following named gentlemen being proposed and elected: Prof. Cyrus Hodgin and Prof. J. N. Study, of Richmond; John Levering, of Lafayette; Judge John Holman, Frank H. Levering, W. J. Craig, G. C. Matthews, Ex-Gov. A. G. Porter, Geo. T. Porter and A. L. Roache, Jr., of Indianapolis.

On motion of Mr. Hooper, the Secretary was directed to return the thanks of the Society to Robert Douglass, Esq., for the gift of the History of Wayne County, Ohio.

On motion, the Secretary was directed to notify all delinquent members of the necessity of paying their dues, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

General Coburn then read an eloquent and able address on the Life and Services of John B. Dillon, prepared by himself, and also a valuable biographical sketch of Mr. Dillon, prepared by Judge Horace P. Biddle, which were ordered printed in the pamphlet series of the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,

Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 31, 1886.

The Society met at the State Library rooms; President English in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

The Society proceeded to the election of members, and the following persons were proposed and elected: Col. Milton S. Robinson, of Anderson; James Greene, Chas L. Holstein and Robert Douglass, of Indianapolis.

The Executive Committee reported that Judge T. M. Cooley, of Michigan, had consented to address the Society at its approaching public meeting, and advised that a reception committee be appointed to take general charge of the arrangements. The President appointed Judge Howe, A. C. Harris and John R. Wilson.

The Executive Committee also reported that Judge Coburn's address on John B. Dillon had been published and placed on sale; that the sale of the Society's pamphlets had not been very satisfactory, but that the Bowen-Merrill Co. had agreed to print Judge Cooley's address on the same terms as the preceding pamphlets.

The Treasurer reported the collections of the past year, \$28.00, and the expenditures, \$20.40, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$7.60.

On motion, the Secretary was directed to strike from the roll the names of all members who had failed to pay their dues, after notification, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers, and, on motion of Mr. Holman, the Secretary was unanimously instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the re-election of the officers of the past year, as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Executive Committee—	John R. Wilson, A. C. Harris, A. L. Roache, W. DeM. Hooper, Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.

On motion, the Secretary was directed to correspond with George Miville de Chene, of Quebec, concerning certain books offered for sale by him.

On motion of Mr. Harris, the President, together with three members to be appointed by him, were constituted a committee to obtain from the General Assembly such legislation as was needed for the Society. The President appointed General Coburn, Chas. L. Holstein and John A. Holman.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, a committee of three was appointed to secure a room for the Society in the new Capital. The chair appointed Messrs. Woollen, Coburn and Roache.

On motion of General Coburn, a committee of six was appointed to devise and report plans for awakening public interest in historical matters and extending the work of the Society. The chair appointed Messrs. Coburn, Woollen, Jordan, Gordon, Holliday and Elliott.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING.

Feb. 16, 1887.

The Society assembled for its annual public meeting at Meridian Street M. E. Church. President English in the chair. A large audience of visitors attended.

Shortly after 8 o'clock, Hon. Thos. M. Cooley, formerly of the Supreme Court of Michigan, the speaker of the evening, was introduced by the presiding officer, and held the close attention of the assemblage for an hour with a carefully prepared discourse on "The Acquisition of Louisiana."

At the close of the address, on motion of General Coburn, thanks were returned to Judge Cooley for his address, and the manuscript was requested for publication.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Friday, July 29, 1887.

The Society met at the office of President English, corner Meridian and Circle streets, the President in the chair.

The minutes of previous meeting were read and adopted.

The committee appointed to secure a room in the State Capitol reported that they met with encouragement, but had failed to secure any action on account of the "dead lock" in the late legislature.

The committee to secure legislation reported similarly.

The Executive Committee reported that Judge Cooley's address had been published and put in circulation.

The Society proceeded to the election of members. The following named persons were nominated and duly elected: Prof. Wm. H. Mace, of DePauw University Normal School; Judge D. D. Banta, of Franklin; Hon. B. Wilson Smith, of Lafayette; Dr. J. W. Hervey, S. M. Bruce, W. H. Martz, L. P. Harlan and Wm. A. Ketcham, of Indianapolis.

On motion of Mr. Woollen, Gen. Charles W. Darling, of Utica, N. Y., was elected an honorary member.

On motion, the Executive Committee was instructed to request Gen. Lew Wallace to address the Society at its next public meeting on "Indiana in the Mexican War."

On motion of Judge Roache, a committee was appointed to memorialize the Grand Army Posts and Regimental Asso-

ciations in regard to the preservation of the history of Indiana troops in the late war of the rebellion. Judge Roache and General Coburn were appointed, with authority to select an additional member to act with them.

On motion, Messrs. Howe, Hooper and Dunn were appointed a committee to memorialize the Superintendent of Public Instruction in regard to the condition of the Township Libraries.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 29, 1887.

The Society met at the office of President English, corner Meridian and Circle streets, the President in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported that it had failed to secure a speaker for the annual public meeting, and that no meeting would be held. Also that the paper of Mr. Charles Martindale on Loughery's Defeat and manuscripts concerning Pigeon Roost Massacre had been published and put in circulation.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, the Secretary was directed to obtain and file ten copies of each of the Society's publications.

The committee appointed to take steps for the preservation of the history of Indiana in the Civil War reported progress.

The committee appointed to confer with the Superintendent of Public Instruction concerning the condition of the township libraries reported that a conference had been held

and that an effort to secure more complete information had been promised.

The committee on room reported that they had obtained Room 87 of the State Capitol.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers, with the following result:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

On motion of Mr. Woollen, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the seal of this Society shall be an impression of an open book within a circle, and the words, "Seal of the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana."

Messrs. Woollen and Hooper were appointed a committee on seal, with power to act.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, the following resolution was adopted:

Moved, That a committee be appointed to secure the removal of all books and papers belonging to the Society to the room to be allotted to the Society by the State House Commissioners; and that such committee examine and report as to the condition of such books and documents; *Further*, that such committee report upon the practicability of supplying state papers and documents.

The following members were appointed the committee: Messrs. Wilson, Jordan, Dunn and Hooper.

The Society then proceeded to the election of new members, and Rev. M. L. Haines, Morris Ross, John Cleland, D. M. Geeting and H. M. LaFollette were elected members. The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 27, 1888.

The Society met in its room, President English in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported that no publications had been made during the year. A circular had been issued to the members of the legislature asking their assistance in securing better provision for the support and care of the State Library.

The committee appointed to remove the property of the Society to its new rooms reported that all of such property had been collected and placed in Room 87 of the new Capitol, the Society's quarters; that a number of pamphlets and state documents had been added to the Society's library; that many valuable papers and books belonging to the Society had been lost or stolen while deposited in the Marion County Court House.

Officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

On motion of Mr. Holman: *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed charged with the duty of urging an act of the coming legislature appropriating \$1,500 annually for the use of this Society, the disbursement to be annually reported to and audited by the Governor of the state.

Messrs. English, Holman, Coburn, Howe and Wilson were appointed the committee.

Mr. Dunn offered a resolution that it was the sense of the Society that ladies were admissible to membership. Lost.

Mr. Wilson offered the following amendment to the Constitution:

Resolved, That Article 6 of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

ART. 6. Applications for membership shall be upon written petition, which application shall be referred to a committee of three, and such committee shall report thereon at the next meeting of the Society. A three-fourths vote of the members of the Society present shall be necessary to an election to membership.

Laid over to next meeting under the Constitution.

The following named persons were elected to membership: W. E. Coffin, of New York City; John A. Wilstach and Charles B. Stuart, of Lafayette; R. S. Robertson, of Ft. Wayne; Rev. H. A. Cleveland, J. F. Gookins and Dr. A. J. Thomas, of Indianapolis; I. Strouse, editor of Rockville Tribune

The Society then directed the committee on legislation to urge the passage of a bill making better provision for the State Library, and the appointment of a Purchasing Board on which the Society should have representation.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

April 2, 1889.

The Society met at its rooms, President in the chair. Minutes read and approved.

The amendment to the Constitution offered at the last meeting was adopted.

The committee on legislation reported that they had secured the passage of a bill making an appropriation of \$5,000 for the purchase and binding of books for the State Library during the current year, and \$2,000 per year thereafter. The bill provides for a purchasing board of five members, of whom one was to be selected by this Society. No action had been obtained on the bill to make provision for this Society, the library bill having been considered more important. A bill reviving the Township libraries had passed the House, but had been lost in the Senate. Superintendent LaFollette had promised to make a full report on Township libraries, but his report was not yet published.

J. R. Wilson was elected the Society's representative on the Purchasing Board of the State Library.

Petitions for membership were presented on behalf of Alpheus H. Snow and Samuel E. Morss of Indianapolis.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 26, 1889.

The Society met at its rooms, President English in the chair. Minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

Alpheus H. Snow and Samuel E. Morss, of Indianapolis, were elected to membership.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, the following members were requested to prepare papers for publication by the Society: Within 6 months, A. C. Harris, on the History of Internal Improvements in Indiana; within 12 months, W. W. Woollen, on The Battle of Mississinewa; at such time as convenient, D. W. Howe, a catalogue of the official publications of Indiana.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 27, 1890.

The Society met in regular annual session at its rooms, President English in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of one pamphlet during the year—the Catalogue of Indiana Official Publications, by Judge D. W. Howe. Owing to the destruction of most of the pamphlets in the Bowen-Merrill fire, the publication had been temporarily discontinued. The committee was authorized to proceed in its discretion.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Recording Secretary.....	Jacob P. Dunn, Jr.
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Dec. 30, 1891.

The Society met in called session, President English presiding.

The object of the meeting was announced to be the presentation of names for membership, and a number of names were presented. Messrs. J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper and Judge D. W. Howe were appointed a special committee on new members, in accordance with amended Article 6 of the Constitution.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 31, 1891.

The Society met in regular annual session. President English in the chair.

The minutes of two preceding meetings were read and adopted.

The select committee on names reported favorably on the following:

Samuel L. Sayles, Huntington; Prof. Oscar J. Craig, Lafayette; Rev. E. J. P. Schmitt, Welte P. O.; Col. R. W. Thompson, Terre Haute; Judge M. L. Bundy, New Castle; John H. Stotsenburg, New Albany; Prof. Enoch A. Bryan, Vincennes; Henry S. Cauthorne, Vincennes; Prof. W. W. Borden, New Albany; Wm. P. Hendricks, Madison; H. F. Work, Charlestown; Robert N. Lamb, Fabius M. Finch, Charles E. Coffin, Ignatius Brown, John Caven, John R. Elder, V. T. Malott, David Macy, Joseph F. Brown, W. R. Holloway, C. M. Walker, Claude Matthews, Ira J. Chase, O. S. Runnells, S. J. Fletcher, A. M. Fletcher, John S. Duncan, Charles W. Smith, Thomas L. Sullivan, Will E. English, J. A. Wildman, William E. Niblack and David Turpie, of Indianapolis.

The report was adopted and the persons named elected to membership.

The committee also reported the following names for honorary membership: Hon. Thos. M. Cooley, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Hon. George W. Julian, Irvington; J. H. B. Nowland, Indianapolis.

The report was adopted and the persons named were elected honorary members.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Rank of Charles Osborn as an Anti-Slavery Pioneer," by Geo. W. Julian, of Irvington. The committee had arranged with the Bowen-Merrill Co. for the publication of future papers and collections of the Society and republication of former ones in the same style as this issue, which was to be known as No. 6, Vol. 2, of the Indiana Historical Society's Collections. The action was approved. adopted.

The Treasurer reported funds on hand, \$21.50.

A motion was adopted directing the President to act as a member of the Executive Committee, and ex-officio President thereof.

Judge D. W. Howe was appointed a special committee to correspond with Mr. Hardin, son of Judge Hardin, of Johnson County, concerning a paper on the destruction of the French Mission in that region.

General Coburn was appointed a special committee to secure an address on the discovery of America.

Officers for the following year were elected as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 29, 1892.

The Society met in regular session. President English in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Treasurer reported on hand, \$35.00.

General Coburn reported that in accordance with instructions he had secured Prof. Ridpath to deliver an address on "Columbus," and that the same had been read at the Columbian celebration in Indianapolis.

The paper was ordered printed in the Society's collection.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, a committee of three was appointed to investigate the charter of the Society, and, if any defects were found, secure the passage of bill remedying the same. Messrs. Wilson, Coburn and Roache were appointed, and, on motion of Judge Roache, President English was added.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	William H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

Prof. O. J. Craig was requested to prepare a paper for the Society on Post Ouiatanon.

Messrs. Roache and Coburn were appointed a special committee to ask General Morris to prepare a paper for the Society on the Internal Improvement of Indiana.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 28, 1893.

The Society met in regular session. President English in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Executive Committee reported the printing of three additional numbers of Vol. 2 of the Publications:

No. 7. The Man in History, by John Clark Ridpath.

No. 8. Ouiatanon, by Oscar J. Craig.

No. 9. Reminiscences of a Journey to Indianapolis in 1836, by C. P. Ferguson, and Life of Ziba Foote, by Samuel Morrison, with sketch of Samuel Morrison by J. P. Dunn.

Also that arrangements had been made to complete the volume during the present year.

The special committee appointed to investigate the charter reported that it had done so, and that the charter was satisfactory.

The Treasurer reported \$30 in the treasury.

The Secretary reported the purchase of a small book case

On motion, the Executive Committee was authorized to secure such additional cases or shelving as might be necessary.

General Coburn introduced the following:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of procuring photographic views of prominent scenes in and about Indianapolis for the purpose of making exchanges of the same for other like photographic views of other prominent scenes in different parts of this state, and report also as to the probable cost of the same, with a view to making a collection for preservation by this Society. Also to inquire into the matter of procuring without cost such photographic views from all parts of the state for the same purpose.

Adopted. Messrs. Coburn, Roache and Harris appointed. Officers were elected as follows:

President.....	Hon. W. H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Treasurer.....	W. DeM. Hooper
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, W. DeM. Hooper, J. P. Dunn, Jr.

Messrs. Craig, Wilson, Banta, W. E. English and Dunn were requested to prepare papers for the ensuing year.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,

Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 27, 1894.

The Society met in regular session. President English in the chair. Minutes of preceding meeting were adopted.

The Executive Committee reported new publications since the last meeting as follows: Vol. 2, No. 10; "Old Settlers," by Robert B. Duncan; No. 11, "French Settlement On the Wabash," by Jacob Piatt Dunn; No. 12, "Slavery Petitions and Papers," by Jacob Piatt Dunn. It announces that these completed Vol. 2 of the Society's Collections, which would be issued as a volume as soon as possible.

The following persons were elected members:

Mr. C. C. Olin, Rev. D. O'Donaghue, John J. Curtis, of Indianapolis, and Judge Samuel H. Doyal, of Frankfort.

The following names were proposed for membership: Prof. J. A. Woodburn, of Bloomington; Prof. C. A. Tuttle, of Crawfordsville; Prof. A. Stephenson, of Greencastle.

Officers were elected as follows:

President.....	W. H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris,
	John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

On motion, the Executive Committee was instructed to include in each number published in pamphlet form a fly leaf at the end bearing the names of the officers of the Society.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to request Hon. W. E. English to furnish his paper entitled "A History of Early Indianapolis Masonry."

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 26, 1895.

The Society met in regular session at its rooms in the Capitol. President English in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of Vol. 2 of the Society's Collections in book form and also No. 1 of Vol. 3, "A History of Early Indianapolis Masonry and of Center Lodge," by Will E. English.

On motion, it was ordered that Vol. 1 be printed, including all the material published by the Society prior to the reorganization of 1886, as far as it could be found.

The following were elected members: Prof. J. A. Woodburn, of Bloomington; Prof. C. A. Tuttle, of Crawfordsville; Prof. A. Stephenson, of Greencastle.

Officers for the year were elected as follows:

President.....	W. H. English
First Vice-President.....	William W. Woollen
Second Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Third Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Corresponding Secretary.....	William W. Woollen
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

On motion, it was ordered that a special request be made of all members for payment of dues.

On motion, John R. Wilson was requested to prepare a paper for the Society on the internal improvement system of Indiana.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Saturday, Feb. 8, 1896.

The Society met in called session in its rooms at the Capitol, Vice-President Woollen in the chair.

The purpose of the meeting was to take action on the death of Hon. W. H. English, President of the Society. On motion, Judge Howe, Judge Roache and Charles E. Coffin were appointed a committee to prepare a memorial entry. The committee reported as follows:

DIED, at Indianapolis, on Feb. 7, 1896, at 12:35 p. m., the Hon. William H. English, President of the Indiana Historical Society.

It is fitting that a special memorial should be made by this Society of the loss to the commonwealth in the death of the Hon. William H. English. As President of this Society since its reorganization in 1886, he has been an earnest worker for the welfare of the Society and for the promotion of the objects of its formation. He realized the importance of the preservation of the historical records of the state, and by his personal efforts has certainly rescued from out-of-the-way places many official papers, including even the records of early legislatures, which otherwise would have been lost. It is indeed fortunate for the state that he lived when he did, and

that he found opportunity to devote his time and talent to the unselfish work in which he has been engaged for the past ten years. While the Society feels the severe loss of his death before his great work was completed, it would record its gratitude that the labor of collecting the material has been practically finished, and the work of preparing it for the press, in addition to the two volumes already published, is well advanced. We feel that this is a noble crown to his life's work, and that future generations will appreciate its benefits and unite with us in honoring the author.

On motion, it was ordered that this memorial be entered in the minute book of the Society.

On motion, it was further ordered that as a mark of respect to the honored dead, the office of President remain vacant during the remainder of the current term, the Vice-Presidents performing all necessary duties in order of seniority.

On motion, John R. Wilson, Judge Howe and J. P. Dunn were appointed a committee to prepare a biographical sketch of Mr. English for publication by the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1896.

The Society met in special session at its rooms in the Capitol. Vice-President Woollen in the chair.

The Secretary reported that amongst the bequests in the last will of the Hon. William H. English, late President of the Society, was a bequest to the Society of the sum of \$2,500, as follows:

"I will and bequeath to the Indiana Historical Society in

perpetual trust, \$2,500, to be kept loaned out as provided in item No. 2 next preceding. The earnings to be used in aid of defraying the cost of publication which may be made by the Society."

The words of "item No. 2" referred to are "the same, with its unused earnings to be kept loaned out at current legal interest on unincumbered real estate in said county, of good title, and worth at least double the amount loaned."

Charles E. Coffin, Treasurer, also reported that the full amount of said bequest had been paid to him and was now in his hands subject to the further order of the Society.

Upon motion, it was resolved that the Society do accept said bequest upon the terms stated in the provision of said will bequeathing the same, and approve the receipt given by the officers of the Society on receiving said amount.

It was further ordered that the Treasurer by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Committee, do, as soon as practicable, invest the amount so received in accordance with the terms of said bequest.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 31, 1896.

The Society assembled at its rooms in annual session, President Woollen in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting of Dec. 26, 1895, Feb. 8, 1896, and Feb. 25, 1896, were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported progress in preparation for the publication of Vol. 1 of the Society's Collections

and was empowered to take such action as might be necessary for completing and indexing the same.

The Treasurer submitted his report, showing on hand the sum of \$89.80, in addition to the English fund of \$2,500. The report was approved.

On motion, a committee of three was appointed to whom all applications for membership should be submitted by the member receiving the same. The chair appointed Judge Howe, W. E. English and General Coburn.

On motion, the Executive Committee, with Judge Howe, W. E. English and General Coburn were made a special committee on legislation, with power to act in behalf of the Society.

The Society then passed to the election of members, and the Rev. C. A. Carstensen, of Indianapolis, was elected to membership.

The Society proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, and the following were duly elected:

President.....	W. W. Woollen
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Third Vice-President.....	Will E. English
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Recording and Corresponding Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Friday, Sept. 24, 1897.

The Executive Committee met in called session at the office of Chairman A. L. Roache.

The Secretary reported the publication of Vol. 1 of the Society's Publications and No. 2 of Vol. 3. On motion, the Treasurer was directed to pay to the Secretary the sum of \$50 for preparation of an index for Vol. 1.

The subject of a public meeting was considered, and the Secretary was directed to procure, if possible, a speaker for such a meeting.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 30, 1897.

The Society met at its room, Vice-President Coburn presiding.

The Executive Committee reported the publications of Vol. 1, and the second number of Vol. 3, *Sieur de Vincennes*, of the Society's Publications, also the allowance of \$50 to the Secretary for preparing an index to Vol. 2, as directed by the Society. The report was approved.

The committee on public meeting reported that no satisfactory arrangements had been made for a meeting in the immediate future.

The committee on legislation reported that Governor Matthews had recommended an appropriation to the Society for printing the Executive Journal of the Territory, but the legislature had not acted. The report was concurred in and the committee was continued with instructions to ask the next legislature for an appropriation of \$2,000 for publication by the Society for one year and \$500 annually thereafter.

The name of Prof. Hugh Th. Miller having been proposed for membership, he was duly elected a member of the Society.

The Treasurer made his annual report, showing \$126.15 on hand, in addition to the English fund of \$2,500. The report having been approved by the Executive Committee, was approved by the Society.

On motion, the Treasurer was directed to have printed 200 blank applications for membership.

On motion, the matter of delinquent fees was referred to the Secretary and Treasurer, with power to act.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	W. W. Woollen
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Third Vice-President.....	Will E. English
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Recording and Corresponding Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN, JR.,
Rec. Sec.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 29, 1898.

The Society met at its rooms. President Woollen presiding. The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported that it had secured Gen. Lew Wallace to address the Society at a public meeting. The committee was directed to take charge of the details of the meeting and draw on the Treasurer for necessary expenses.

The committee on legislation reported progress and was continued.

The Treasurer reported on hand, in the English Fund, \$2,743.83, and, in the general fund, \$53.80.

Gov. James A. Mount was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	W. W. Woollen
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Third Vice-President.....	Will E. English
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL PUBLIC MEETING.

Feb. 22, 1899.

A special meeting was held at Meridian M. E. Church, which had been granted for this use of the Society by the Pastor, Rev. W. A. Quayle, and the directory of the church.

The Mexican War Veterans were guests of the Society and attended in a body.

Gen. Lew Wallace delivered an address on "The Battle of Buena Vista," at the close of which a reception was held in the parlors of the church.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Oct. 20, 1899.

A called meeting of the Executive Committee was held at the office of Judge Howe to consider the appropriation made

by the late legislature and the purposes to which it was to be applied. D. W. Howe and J. P. Dunn were appointed a committee to consult with the State Printing Board concerning the same.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 28, 1899.

The Society held its annual meeting at its rooms, President Woollen presiding. The minutes of the three preceding meetings were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported that it had caused the Executive Journal of Indiana Territory to be typewritten and was having it annotated preparatory to publication, under the appropriation made by the last legislature. It was given full power to act in connection with the matter.

The Treasurer filed his annual report, approved by the Executive Committee, showing a balance on hand of \$415.28, in addition to the principal of the English fund (\$2,500). The report was approved.

Messrs. W. H. Smith, B. L. Blair and J. F. Stutesman were elected members of the Society.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	W. W. Woollen
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
Third Vice-President.....	Will E. English
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, J. R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Friday, Nov. 9, 1900.

The Executive Committee met in called session at the office of Judge D. W. Howe, who presided at the meeting.

The Secretary reported that the printing of the Executive Journal of Indiana Territory was practically completed, the work being done by W. B. Burford, State Printer, under the terms of the legislative appropriation.

Also that the Bowen-Merrill Co. had offered to convey to the Society the full ownership of all publications of the Society in its possession, together with the plates for the same, for the sum of \$810.76. The listed cost price of these was larger, and the difference was deducted by the Bowen-Merrill Co. The new agreement to be in full settlement of all liabilities of either party under past agreements.

Also, that the Bowen-Merrill Co. offered to act as agent of the Society for the sale of its publications, receiving as compensation therefor a commission of 20 per cent. on the sales.

On motion, Judge D. W. Howe and J. P. Dunn were appointed a special committee to adjust these matters and prepare the necessary contracts. They were directed to authorize W. B. Burford to draw the full amounts of the said legislative appropriation for the years 1900 and 1901—being \$600, for each year—and after paying the full amount due for the publication of The Executive Journal of Indiana, to pay to The Bowen-Merrill Co. the said sum of \$810.76, on the execution of a contract of sale as proposed, and to pay any remaining sum into the hands of the Treasurer.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 27, 1900.

The Society held its annual meeting at its rooms, Vice-President Howe presiding. The minutes of the two preceding meetings were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported the printing of the Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, with annotations and introductions, as No. 3 of Vol. 3, of the Society's publications.

Also the purchase of the plates and printed copies of preceding publications from the Bowen-Merrill Co. in accordance with the instructions of the Society. The expenditures of the legislative appropriation was as follows:

1,000 Copies Ex. Journal.....	\$ 291.06
125 Coml. Envelopes	1.64
Copying Journal	14.00
Bowen-Merrill Co., plates and pubs.....	810.76
Bal. to treasury.....	82.54
Total	<u>\$1,200.00</u>

The committee also reported a contract with The Bowen-Merrill Co. to act as agent for the sale of the Society's publications on a commission of 20 per cent.

The Treasurer reported cash on hand, \$598.82, in addition to the \$2,500 principal of the English fund. On motion, he was directed to add \$500 to the principal and put the same at interest.

New members were proposed and elected as follows: T. A. Goodwin, J. F. Dougherty, Rowland T. Evans, Charles M. Reagan, Martin Hugg, Geo. S. Cottman, W. E. Henry, Jesse Tarkington, Chas. E. Holloway and F. H. McElroy.

Hon. Wm. Copley Winslow, of Boston, was elected an honorary member.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	Judge A. L. Roache, A. C.
	Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale,
	Jacob P. Dunn.

Before the election, a letter was read from Hon. W. W. Woollen, stating that advancing years prevented his giving the attention he would like to the duties of President of the Society, and requesting that someone in better health be elected to the position. The following resolution was thereupon offered:

Resolved, That the Society regrets the feeling of Hon. W. W. Woollen that increasing infirmities prevent his further service as President, and returns its special thanks for his faithful services to the Society in the past.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was offered:

Resolved, That this Society considers the appropriation for purchase and binding of books for the State Library as wholly inadequate, and that the President appoint a committee to urge the legislature to increase the appropriation to at least \$2,000.

Adopted. The Executive Committee was requested to act in this capacity.

On motion, The Bowen-Merrill Co. was directed to reduce the price of the bound volumes of the Society's publications to \$1.50 per volume, and the pamphlets in proportion.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 26, 1901.

The Society met in annual session at its rooms, Judge Howe presiding.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Executive Committee reported correspondence with Hon. J. K. Gowdy, U. S. Consul General at Paris, by which copies of a number of documents relating to the early history of the Wabash country had been obtained, and also photographs of two letters from Sieur de Vincennes—the oldest documents written in Indiana now known to be extant. It was ordered that one set of the photographs be mounted and framed.

The Treasurer having been called out of the city, the Executive Committee was directed to receive and act on his report.

New members were elected as follows: Chas R. Williams, Russell T. Byers, Wm. Bosson and Henry Coburn, all of Indianapolis.

Officers were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	Judge A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale, Jacob P. Dunn.

On motion of General Coburn:

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to obtain for the Library a complete copy of "The Rebellion Records and Maps," if possible, through the members of Congress from

this state. Also a copy of each of the histories of Indiana Regiments in the War of the Rebellion, if possible, without cost.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Friday, Jan. 10, 1902.

The Executive Committee met at Judge Howe's office and the Treasurer reported as follows:

Cash on hand, as per last report.....	\$598.82	
Dues collected during year.....	24.00	
Interest on Keller mortgage.....	150.00	\$772.82

DISBURSEMENTS.

Mortgage loan of Mary C. Kensler....	\$500.00	
Money to J. K. Gowdy, Voucher 1....	10.00	
Money to Paris, Voucher 2....	25.35	
Money to Paris, Voucher 3....	38.50	573.85
Leaving Bal. on hand.....		\$198.97

The total assets of the Society now in the hands of the Treasurer are as follows:

1. Mortgage of Robert Keller on property on South East St., appraised for \$6,000, per mortgage recorded in Mortgage Record 307, on p. 249, at 6%.....\$2,500.00
 2. Mortgage of Mary A. Kensler on house and lot on Fairview St., appraised at \$1,000. Mortgage filed for record Dec. 19, 1901, at 6%.....500.00
 3. Cash on hand as above.....198.97
- Total assets on hand.....\$3,198.97

On motion, Judge Howe and John R. Wilson were ap-

pointed a committee to inspect the securities of the Treasurer, and his report was adopted subject to their approval.

On motion, the Secretary was directed to present one set of copies of the photographs of the Vincennes letters to the Indianapolis Public Library, and one set to the Vincennes University.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

APPROVAL OF TREASURER'S REPORT.

On January 29, 1912, the special committee on the Treasurer's Report filed their approval of the same as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

The undersigned, to whom was referred the last report of Charles E. Coffin, Treasurer, for the year ending Dec. 26, 1901, with instructions to examine the same and the securities now held for the loans made by said Treasurer, as mentioned in his report, respectfully report as follows:

We have examined the report and find it to be correct, and that for the credits claimed by said Treasurer he has the proper vouchers.

We have also examined the security for the loan of Robert Keller, mentioned in said report. This loan is evidenced by a note for \$2,500, executed March 11, 1896, and originally due in three years, but subsequently extended for another term of three years. This loan is secured by mortgage duly recorded in Mortgage Record No. 307, page 249, on certain real estate on South East street described as follows:

Seventy-five (75) feet off the North end of lots 43, 44, 45 and 46 in Thomas A. Hendricks sub-division of part of Out Lot No. 99 in the City of Indianapolis.

Said real estate is now assessed for taxation as follows:

Lot	\$2,000.00	
Improvements	1,425.00	\$3,425.00

But the market value of the same is considerably in excess of the assessment, and we regard the security as amply sufficient for the loan.

We have also examined the security for the loan to Mary A. Kensler mentioned in said report. The loan is evidenced by a note for \$500 executed December 11, 1901, and due in five years at six per cent. interest, and is secured by mortgage duly recorded in Mortgage Record No. 406, page 393, on certain real estate on Fairview street in the City of Indianapolis described as follows:

Lot Twenty-three (23) in Mulaney & Cooper's North Indianapolis Addition to the City of Indianapolis.

Said real estate is now assessed for taxation as follows:

Lot	\$100.00	
Improvements	350.00	\$450.00

But we are informed that the above valuation is an old assessment, and that the property is now worth at least:

Lot	\$300.00	
Improvements	700.00	\$1,000.00

and is ample security for the loan.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
JOHN R. WILSON.

Jan. 29, 1902.

Attest: J. P. DUNN, *Secretary*.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Friday, Dec. 26, 1902.

Pursuant to call, the Society met in regular annual session at its rooms, and adjourned to the State Library on account of the cold weather. President Howe was in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of one pamphlet, "The Mission to the Ouabache," since the last meeting.

The Treasurer reported as follows:

Cash—last report	\$ 198.97
RECEIPTS—Interest	180.00
	<hr/>
	378.97
DISBURSEMENTS, as per vouchers.....	236.30
	<hr/>
Cash on hand.....	142.67
Keller mortgage	2,500.00
Kensler mortgage	500.00
	<hr/>
Total funds	\$3,142.67

The report was approved.

On motion, Dr. Frank B. Wynn was elected to membership.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Daniel Wait Howe
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	Judge A. L. Roache, A. C.
	Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale,
	J. P. Dunn.

On motion, a committee was appointed composed of

President Howe and Messrs. Coffin, Martindale, Coburn and Henry to consider the future policy of the Society and report.

The meeting then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 31, 1903.

The Society met in regular annual session at its rooms. President Howe presiding.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Executive Committee reported the publication, "Fifty Years in Pharmacy," by Geo. W. Sloan, being No. 5 of Vol. 3 of the Publications. Also the acquisition for publication of the Ms. Journal of Wm. Owen, son of Robert Owen, of New Harmony.

The Treasurer reported:

Bal. on hand, last report.....	\$142.67	
Interest collected	180.00	
Dues collected	17.00	\$ 339.67

DISBURSEMENTS.

Postage	1.70
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Balance	\$ 337.97
Invested funds	3,000.00

Total	\$3,337.97
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The report was approved.

Geo. B. Lockwood, of Indianapolis, and Arthur Dransfield, of New Harmony, were proposed for membership and elected.

The Executive Committee was instructed to co-operate with the patriotic societies of the state in the collection and publication of matter relating to the revolutionary soldiers of Indiana.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Gen. John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee:	Judge A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 29, 1904.

The Society met at its room in the State House, President Howe in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported a pamphlet, "Caleb Mills and the Public School System of Indiana," in the hands of the printer, which would complete Vol. 3 of the Society's publications.

The Treasurer reported:

Balance—last report	\$337.97	
Receipts	185.00	\$522.97
Expenditures		107.80
Balance December 28, 1905.....		\$415.17

The following named persons were elected members of the

Society: Charles W. Moores, Wm. A. Ketcham, Prof. Arthur. W. Dunn, Judge Thos. C. Whallon, all of Indianapolis.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, The Illinois State Historical Society has inaugurated a movement for a suitable memorial to Father Gibault, the patriot priest of the Northwest, who rendered invaluable service to Gen. George Rogers Clark, and, *Whereas*, It is desirable that Indiana should join in the movement,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be directed to take such steps as may be deemed desirable in the premises, in co-operation with the Illinois Historical Society and any organizations that may unite for this purpose.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Gen. John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee:	Judge A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 28, 1905.

The Society met in its new room (No. 121) at the State House, President Judge Howe in the chair. The President made a brief statement of the condition of the Society. The attendance was unusually large (due to notices being sent to each member) and much interest was shown.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

The Executive Committee reported the completion of Vol. 3 of the Society's Publications by the issue of the pamphlet on "Caleb Mills and the Public School System of Indiana," and by preparation of an index, and binding the volume, which is now on sale—also several numbers for Vol. 4 in preparation.

The Treasurer reported as follows:

Balance on hand December 29, 1904.....	\$ 415.17
Dues collected	17.00
Keller interest	150.00
Kensler <i>loan</i> (\$500) and interest.....	511.67
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Total	\$1,093.84
Expenditures itemized	521.80
<hr/>	<hr/>
Balance December 28, 1905.....	\$ 572.04
Less principal	500.00
<hr/>	<hr/>
Available for current expenses.....	\$ 72.04

The Secretary reported the presentation to the Society of a ms. paper on "Pioneers of Indiana"—John Lyle Campbell, author—by the Historical Committee of the D. A. R.

Mr. Cottman offered the following:

"Moved, That the Executive Committee be requested to prepare for a public meeting at the time of the meeting of the History Section of the State Teachers' Association in April, 1906." Carried, n. c. d.

New members were elected as follows: R. B. Oglesbee, LaPorte; Thos. G. Alford and Thos. F. Moran, of Lafayette; U. G. Weatherby and Samuel B. Harding, of Bloomington; Walter S. Davis and Harlow Lindley, of Richmond; Michael L. Essick, of Rochester; Delavan Smith, Warren Bigelow, Louis Ewbank, Wm. Carter, Theo. Stempfelf, Louis Howland and Francis Bacon, of Indianapolis.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Gen. John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee: Judge A. L. Roache, A. C. Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.	

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Friday, April 27, 1906.

The Society met at the office rooms of Judge Howe at 10 a. m. in called meeting, President Howe in the chair.

The minutes of Dec. 28, 1905, were read and approved.

The Secretary reported that the following persons heretofore elected members of the Society had declined or withdrawn membership: M. L. Bundy, New Castle, Ind.; Byron K. Elliott, Indianapolis, Ind.; Thomas A. Goodwin, Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. A. Ketcham, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. W. Moncrieff, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel L. Sayles, Huntington, Ind.; Alpheus H. Snow, Washington, D. C.; H. F. Work, Charleston, Ind.

Also that the following had discontinued their membership: B. L. Blair, Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. Bosson, Indianapolis, Ind.; S. M. Bruce, Indianapolis, Ind.; E. A. Bryan, Vincennes, Ind.; C. A. Carstensen, Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. Carter, Indianapolis, Ind.; John E. Cleland, Indianapolis, Ind.; H. A. Cleveland, San Francisco, Cal.; Henry Coburn, Indianapo-

lis, Ind.; Oscar J. Craig, Missoula, Mont.; Walter S. Davis, Richmond, Ind.; J. F. Dougherty, Indianapolis, Ind.; Allen M. Fletcher, New York City; David M. Geeting, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. F. Gookins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Elijah Halford, Washington, D. C.; Levi P. Harlan, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. W. Holcombe, Washington, D. C.; Wm. R. Holloway, Halifax, N. S.; W. DeM. Hooper, Boston, Mass.; David S. Jordan, Leland Stanford University; Lewis Jordan, Washington, D. C.; Frank H. Levering, Denver, Colo.; Wm. H. Mace, Greencastle, Ind.; Wm. H. Martz, Chicago, Ill.; G. C. Matthews, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. J. Mills, Richmond, Ind.; F. H. McElroy, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jno. G. Newkirk, Bloomington, Ind.; C. C. Olin, Indianapolis, Ind.; George T. Porter, Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. H. Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.; I. Strouse, Rockville, Ind.; J. N. Study, Richmond, Ind.; Jesse Tarkington, Indianapolis, Ind.; A. J. Thomas, Indianapolis, Ind.; David Turpie, Indianapolis, Ind.; C. A. Tuttle, Crawfordsville, Ind.; Chas. M. Walker, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jno. A. Wilstach, Lafayette, Ind.; A. B. Woodford, Bloomington, Ind.; A. B. Young, San Diego, Cal.

The Secretary also reported deaths, not heretofore reported, of the following former members of the Society: D. D. Banta, Bloomington, Ind.; Ignatius Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph F. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Henry L. Cauthorne, Vincennes, Ind.; John Caven, Indianapolis, Ind.; F. W. Crouse, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert Douglass, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel G. Doyal, Frankfort, Ind.; Fabius M. Finch, Indianapolis, Ind.; John A. Finch, Indianapolis, Ind.; James Greene, Indianapolis, Ind.; Albert Henderson, Lafayette, Ind.; Wm. P. Hendricks, Madison, Ind.; J. W. Hervey, Indianapolis, Ind.; John Holman, Indianapolis, Ind.; Chas. L. Holstein, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert N. Lamb, Indianapolis, Ind.; John Levering, Lafayette, Ind.; David

Macy, Indianapolis, Ind.; Claude Matthews, Indianapolis, Ind.; Thos. A. Morris, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel E. Morss, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph E. McDonald, Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. E. Niblack, Indianapolis, Ind.; Albert G. Porter, Indianapolis, Ind.; Addison O. Roache, Los Angeles, Cal.; M. S. Robinson, Anderson, Ind.; E. J. P. Schmitt, Vincennes, Ind.; Jno. C. Shoemaker, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jno. H. Stotsenburg, New Albany, Ind.; Chas. B. Stuart, Lafayette, Ind.; Maurice Thompson, Crawfordsville, Ind.; R. W. Thompson, Terre Haute, Ind.; Wm. Wallace, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. A. Wildman, Indianapolis, Ind.

The following applications for membership were received, all recommended by Geo. S. Cottman, and on motion the rules requiring reference to same to a committee were suspended, and all were unanimously elected members of the Society: Amos W. Butler, Irvington, Ind.; John T. Campbell (Soldiers' Home), Lafayette, Ind.; Alva O. Reser, Lafayette, Ind.; A. C. Shortridge, Irvington, Ind.; Virgil Lockwood, Indianapolis, Ind.

On motion, the following persons were unanimously elected honorary members of the Society: David S. Jordan, Leland Stanford University; David Turpie, Indianapolis, Ind.; Thos. A. Goodwin, Indianapolis, Ind.; M. L. Bundy, New Castle, Ind.; Oscar J. Craig, Missoula, Mont.; Wm. H. Mace, Syracuse, N. Y.; Enoch A. Bryan, Pullman, Wash.

On motion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

In the death of Judge Addison L. Roache at Los Angeles, Cal., on April 25, 1906, we recognize the passing to rest of an honored citizen after a busy and useful life. Judge Roache became a member of the Indiana Historical Society in 1859, and was at once made a member of the Executive Committee. He served as chairman of that committee from 1886 to 1906.

The members of this Society unite with his many friends in a grateful memory of his life and services.

On motion, the Secretary was ordered to have printed a roster containing the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, the names of the present officers and members of the Society, the names of the former officers of the Society, and a list of the publications of the Society, and to mail a copy to each member of the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 27, 1906.

The Society met in regular annual session, at the office of Judge Howe, who presided.

The President presented a report of the work of the Society for the preceding year, as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society, I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since the last annual meeting:

The membership of the Society on May 1, 1906 (date of printing roster) was as follows:

Regular members	68
Honorary members	9
Total	<u>77</u>

The Treasurer's report (made up to December 15, 1906) shows the total funds of the Society to be as follows:

Invested in Robert Keller mortgage, drawing 6 per cent interest and maturing March 1, 1909	\$2,500.00
--	------------

Invested in Thomas Smith mortgage, drawing 6 per cent interest and maturing January 29, 1908 -----	500.00
Cash on hand -----	83.27
Total -----	<u>\$3,083.27</u>

Since the last annual meeting, the Society has printed 1,000 copies of Diary of William Owens, 134 pages, at a cost of \$169.00. This is numbered as pamphlet No. 1 of future Vol. 4 of the Society Publications, which now consist of three bound volumes and the Owen Diary.

The Society has also printed 500 copies of a roster containing the Charter, Constitution, officers and members, and list of its publications. A copy of the roster has been mailed to each member. The remaining copies are still on hand for future distribution.

The Executive Committee has not yet determined what shall be the next publication, but there will probably be sufficient material by the time the funds of the Society available for publication are sufficient to warrant further publications.

I have addressed a communication to the Bobbs-Merrill Co. requesting a full statement showing what publications, bound and unbound, it has received from the Society and how many are still on hand, together with a full statement of account since the date of last statement. In answer, the company promises to furnish statement by February 1, 1907.

Last spring a joint meeting of the members of this Society and the members of the History Section of the State Teachers' Association was held in this city, with a view to the development of greater interest in the study of Indiana History in the public schools. The meeting was well attended and promises good results.

By direction of the Executive Committee, I have authorized Dr. James A. Woodburn, a member of this Society, to

join with the Commercial Club of this city in extending an invitation to the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association to hold their next annual joint meeting in this city. If the invitation is accepted, the meeting will not impose any expense upon this Society.

There are several documents of public interest and importance, the publication of which should be made under the direction of this Society, but which the Society cannot publish without legislative aid, and I recommend that an effort be made to secure an appropriation for that purpose at the coming session of the General Assembly.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,

President.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted.

The Treasurer reported receipts, \$300; expenditures, \$216.77; balance on hand, \$83.27; invested, \$3,000.

New members were elected as follows: J. W. Fesler, 822 Fletcher avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.; Lyndsay M. Brown, 325 Lemcke Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; Chas. Failles, 2620 N. Capital, Indianapolis, Ind.; Demarchus Brown, 125 Downey avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.; Eliza Gordon Browning, Public Library, Indianapolis, Ind.; Chalmers Hadley, Pub. Lib. Commission, Indianapolis, Ind.; Prof. W. D. Howe, Bloomington, Ind.; Christopher B. Coleman, Irvington, Ind.; Hilton U. Brown, Irvington, Ind.; Carlos T. McCarty, Shoals, Ind.

On motion, the name of A. C. Shortridge was directed to be transferred from the active list to the honorary list.

On motion, a committee of six, with the President as chairman, was appointed to solicit an appropriation of \$300

from the legislature to aid in publication. The committee was also directed to aid in the movement to secure the printing of the rosters of Indiana troops in the Mexican War. The chair appointed Messrs. Stutesman, Harris, Wilson, Brown and Miller.

The following resolution was offered :

"Resolved, That Art. VI of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words "at the next meeting of the Society."
Laid over under the Constitution.

On motion, a committee of three was appointed to investigate the field of work of the Society and report. The chair appointed Messrs. Cottman, Evans and Moores.

The Society elected officers for the ensuing year as follows :

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Executive Committee—	John H. Holliday, Addison C.
	Harris, John R. Wilson, Charles Martindale,
	Jacob P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

The Society met in special session at Judge Howe's office to hear the report of the committee on the work of the Society.

Mr. Cottman reported for the committee, urging affiliation with local hisorical socieies, patriotic societies, and old

settlers' associations. On motion the Society accepted the recommendations and instructed the committee to draw up such amendments to the constitution as were considered necessary, and submit the same to the Executive Committee and members of the Society preparatory to submission at the next meeting of the Society.

New members were elected as follows: William W. Thornton, Indianapolis; Meredith Nicholson, Indianapolis.

On motion it was decided that the Society should hold a joint public meeting with the History Section of the State Teachers' Association this spring, and the Executive Committee was directed to take such action as might be needed in the arrangement of a program.

On motion the Executive Committee was directed to make such arrangements as it should consider best for depositing printed matter of the Society in the State Library, or for donating such matter to the State Library on condition that it be bound and indexed.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Tuesday, Feb. 19, 1907.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at the office of Judge Howe.

The Secretary reported that the Bobbs-Merrill Company desired a modification of their contract order which they should report sales semi-annually and make no special reports. The stock on hand was reported as follows:

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAMPHLETS.

55 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 1.
61 Copies, Vol. 2, o. 2.
10 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 4.
127 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 5.
261 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 6.
70 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 7.
23 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 8.
17 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 9.
19 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 10.
2 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 11.
10 Copies, Vol. 2, No. 12.
247 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 1.
213 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 2.
664 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 3.
680 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 4.
826 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 5.
169 Copies, Vol. 3, No. 6.
795 Copies, Vol. 4, No. 1.
9 Copies, Vol. 1, Cloth Bound.
381 Copies, Vol. 2, Cloth Bound.
80 Copies, Vol. 3, Cloth Bound.
395 Copies, Vol. 1, Sheets.

The modified contract was accepted as submitted including provision that the Society should insure its own stock, and the Bobbs-Merrill Company should not be liable for loss on same.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

Friday, April 26, 1907.

A called meeting was held at Judge Howe's office.

Minutes of preceding two meetings were read and adopted.

On motion a resolution of thanks to James F. Stutesman and Senator Will R. Wood for their services in securing an appropriation from the legislature was adopted.

There being a vacancy in the office of Corresponding Secretary, George S. Cottman was elected to that office.

The following resolution was offered and adopted:

Resolved, That for the purposes of announcements reports of meetings, and similar matters of public interest, the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History be recognized as the official organ of the Indiana Historical Society, and further

Resolved, That the local historical societies of the state be requested to send announcements and reports of meetings to the said The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, to the end that a speedy and convenient interchange of information be established among those interested in historical matters.

The Society referred the matter of affiliation with local societies back to the committee on the work of the Society, with instructions to report an amendment to the constitution covering this subject.

On motion Demarchus Brown was added to said committee.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Friday, August 23, 1907.

The Executive Committee met at Judge Howe's office on call of the President.

The death of Hon. John R. Wilson, a member of the Executive Committee, was announced, and the committee proceeded to an election to fill the vacancy.

Charles W. Moores was duly elected to the said office.
The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, December 26, 1907.

The Society met in regular annual session at the office of Judge Howe, he presiding.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting on December 27, 1906.

The membership of the Society on December 27, 1906 (not including the members elected at the annual meeting of that date) was as follows:

Regular members	68
Honorary members	9
	—
Total	77
There were elected at the last annual and subsequent meetings	12
	—
Making a total of	89
Since the last annual meeting one member—John R. Wilson—has died, and one—A. C. Shortridge—has been transferred from list of regular to list of honorary members, making a reduction of...	2
	—
Leaving present regular membership	87
Honorary members	10

The Treasurer's report made up to December 23, 1907, shows the total funds of the Society to be as follows:

Interest on loan to Thomas Smith, drawing 6 per cent interest and maturing January 29, 1906	\$ 500.00
---	-----------

Loan to Robert Keller, drawing 6 per cent interest and maturing March 11, 1909-----	2,500.00
Cash on hand-----	204.52
Total -----	<u>\$3,204.52</u>

At the last session of the legislature an appropriation was made in the general appropriation bill, which will be found in the Acts of 1907, page 682, as follows:

"State Historical Society—For the publication, binding and preservation of historical papers, the sum of three hundred dollars, warrants for same to be issued upon the verified statement of the President and Secretary of said Society."

This appropriation did not become available under section 2 of the same act (Act, 1907), page 682, until October 1, 1907.

This appropriation in terms is only for one year, but under section 4 of the same act it would seem that this appropriation is continued in force for the year beginning October 1, 1908, and ending September 30, 1909.

One requisition has been made on this fund, viz.: One made by the President and Secretary December 21, 1907, for \$160.00, with which to pay the bill of \$160.00 for printing 1,000 copies of the pamphlet by Homer J. Webster on *William Henry Harrison's Administration of Indiana Territory*, the same being pamphlet No. 3 of volume 4, of the Indiana Historical Society Publications.

Since the last annual meeting the Society has printed, in addition to pamphlet last mentioned, 1,000 copies of Mr. Jacob Piatt Dunn's pamphlet on *The Word Hoosier*, the same being pamphlet No. 2 of the Society's Publications.

Mr. R. R. Bennett, of Washington, D. C., is preparing for publication by the Society a copy of certain documents on file in the Government departments at Washington, pertaining to a census taken at an early date of the inhabitants of Marion

County. To defray the expenses of procuring necessary copies the Society advanced to him the sum of \$35.00.

I have been informed by Mr. George S. Cottman, publisher of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, that he does not intend to continue that publication after the publication of No. 4 of the current volume (No. 3). This is a valuable publication, and I recommend that the Society afford such aid as may be found to be practical to the continuation of that or a similar publication.

The Executive Committee reported the publication during the year of

- Vol. 4, No. 2. *The Word Hoosier*, by J. P. Dunn.
 Vol. 4, No. 3. *Administration of W. H. Harrison of Indiana Territory*, by Prof. Homer J. Webster.

The Treasurer reported:

Funds invested -----	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand -----	204.52

On motion the President appointed J. H. Holliday and J. P. Dunn a committee to insure the Society's publications, with power to act.

The committee on affiliation with local and other societies, reported that they had been communicated with, but no answers had been received. The report was received and the committee discharged.

On motion, Charles Moores and Eliza G. Browning were appointed a committee on the publication of names of Revolutionary pensioners living in Indiana.

The motion to amend the constitution, in section 6, by dropping the words "at the next meeting of the Society," proposed at the last annual meeting, was adopted.

New members were elected as follows: Charles Ping-

pank, Indianapolis; Murat H. Hopkins, Indianapolis; Charles Korbly, Indianapolis; Augustus L. Mason, Indianapolis.

Also, honorary members as follows: Benjamin F. Parker, New Castle; Professor Homer J. Webster, Alliance, Ohio.

On motion a resolution to meet in Indianapolis in 1910 was adopted.

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. Dunn and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The Indian tribes that formerly inhabited the Ohio Valley have been widely scattered, and there is danger that their languages may be lost through the younger generation's adopting the English language, and

Whereas, There is no adequate source of information now available in print, even as to the meaning of the names of lakes and streams left to us by the Miamis, Potawatomes, Shawnees, and other tribes,

Resolved, That the National Bureau of Ethnology be requested to collect and publish such information as to these languages as can now be obtained, and especially that of the great Miami nation, including the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and other tribes who occupied the greater part of Indiana and Illinois;

Resolved, That our senators and representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to secure this result, and to obtain appropriations for the expense thereof, if such appropriations are needed;

Resolved, further, That these resolutions be communicated to the other historical societies of the states formed from the Northwest Territory, with a request that they take similar action.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	General John Coburn
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English

Third Vice-President-----Bishop D. O'Donaghue
 Treasurer-----C. E. Coffin
 Recording Secretary -----J. P. Dunn
 Corresponding Secretary -----George Cottman
 Executive Committee—John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris,
 Charles W. Moores, Charles Martindale and
 J. P. Dunn.

On motion it was resolved "That the Executive Committee be authorized to expend not to exceed \$150.00 to insure the continued publication of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History."

On motion it was resolved "That each member should be entitled to one copy of each publication of the Society for the year 1907, and of all future publications, on application to the Secretary."

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, December 31, 1908.

The Society met in regular annual session at Judge Howe's office at 2:00 p. m.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since the last annual meeting on December 26, 1907.

At the last regular meeting the number of regular members (not including those elected at that meeting) was -----87

There have been elected at this and subsequent meetings	4
Making total of.....	91
There have since died.....	2
Leaving number of present regular members.....	89
At the last regular meeting the number of honorary members (not including those elected at that meeting) were.....	10
And there have been since elected.....	2
Making total of honorary members.....	12

Since last regular meeting the deaths of the following have occurred:

General John Coburn, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, who died January 28, 1908.

Also, of Professor Cyrus Hodgkin, who died October 3, 1908.

Since the last annual meeting the Society has issued the following publications: *Making a Capital in the Wilderness*, by Daniel Wait Howe, being pamphlet No. 4 of Vol. IV of the Society's Publications, of which 1,000 copies were printed.

Names of Persons Enumerated in Marion County, Indiana, at the Fifth Census, 1830, being pamphlet No. 5 of Vol. IV of the Society's Publications, of which 1,000 copies were printed.

Some Elements of Indiana's Population or Roads West and Their Early Travelers, by Professor William E. Henry, being pamphlet No. 6 of Vol. IV of the Society's Publications, of which 1,000 copies were printed.

At the last annual meeting the Executive Committee was authorized to appropriate out of the funds of the Society not to exceed \$150.00 in aid of the publication of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History. Pursuant to this vote, the

committee has up to this date appropriated for this purpose the sum of \$50.00.

The annual report of the Treasurer showing his account up to December 28 of this year shows assets of the Society as follows:

Permanent endowment fund	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	370.57
Total	<u>\$3,370.57</u>

The permanent endowment fund is invested as follows:

The permanent endowment fund is invested as follows: 10 pt

In first mortgage loan to Thomas Smith.....	\$ 500.00
In first mortgage loan to Robert Keller.....	<u>2,500.00</u>
Total	<u>\$3,000.00</u>

There is still left of the fund appropriated by the state for the benefit of the Society, the sum of \$233.75. Under the law, if this fund is not used before October 1, 1909, the beginning of the new fiscal year, it will revert to the State Treasury.

There is at present no material on hand in shape for printing.

I suggest that it would be advisable for the Society to be represented by a committee to co-operate in any movement that may be undertaken to celebrate the Centennial of the admission into the Union of the State of Indiana in 1816.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President.

The Executive Committee reported printed since last meeting *Making a Capital in the Wilderness*, by Judge D. W. Howe; *Names of Persons Enumerated in Marion County, Indiana, at the Fifth Census, 1830*, and *Some Elements of*

Indiana's Population, in Roads West and Their Early Travelers, by Professor William E. Henry, being Nos. 4, 5 and 6 of Vol. IV of the Society's Publications.

It also reported \$233.75 of the legislative appropriation available for publications for the year ending October 1, 1909.

The Treasurer reported:

Permanent endowment	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand	370.37
Total	<u>\$3,370.37</u>

The managers of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History had drawn \$110.00 from the guaranty of last year. On motion the guaranty of \$150.00 for its expenses was reserved for the coming year.

The Committee on Revolutionary Pensioners reported that 1,172 had been located in Indiana. The committee was continued.

Samuel Brewer was elected a member of the Society. (Address 25 Talbott Bldg., Indianapolis.)

Officers were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Charles W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	Charles E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee—	John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris, Charles W. Moores, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.

On motion the Executive Committee was authorized to take any necessary action for promoting the purposes of the resolution of last year for preserving the Indian languages.

On motion the thanks of the Society were returned to Hon. J. F. Stutesman and Senator Will R. Wood for efficient

aid in securing the legislative appropriation of \$300.00 annually.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Friday, January 29, 1909.

The Executive Committee met at Judge Howe's office on call to consider co-operation with other societies in securing an index of documents in the French Archives.

Resolved, That this Society contribute a proportionate share of the expense of preparing and publishing an index of material in the French Archives relating to the early history of the Mississippi Valley, not to exceed \$200.00, to be expended under the direction of the Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

December 9, 1908.

The Executive Committee met on call at Judge Howe's office. On motion Professor C. B. Coleman, Charles Moores and J. P. Dunn were appointed a committee on arrangements for the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis in December, 1910, in connection with the American Economical Association and Political Science Association. The committee was given power to act, and to co-operate with other organizations.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 31, 1909.

The Society met in regular session at Judge Howe's office at 3:00 p. m. President in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting, on December 30, 1908:

The total membership of the Society at this date is as follows:

Regular members	80
Honorary members	12
Total	<u>92</u>

No deaths of members have been reported since the last annual meeting.

Since the last annual meeting the Society has issued the following publications:

Lockerbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis for 1835, being pamphlet No. 7 of Vol. IV, of which 1,000 copies were printed.

The annual report of the Treasurer, showing his accounts up to December 30 of this year shows assets of the Society as follows:

Permanent endowment fund.....	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	193.37
Total	<u>\$3,193.37</u>

The Treasurer's report also shows that the permanent endowment fund is invested on first mortgage loans.

As stated in my last annual report, the legislature of 1907 made an appropriation in favor of the Society for the publication, binding and preservation of historical papers, warrants for the same to be issued on the verified statement of the President and Secretary of the Society. This appropriation became available October 1, 1907, and, though in terms for only one year, was by other sections of the law continued in force until September 30, 1909. By other laws all unexpended appropriation for any year revert to the state treasury.

One thousand copies were printed of each of the publications named below, which were printed by Mr. Edward J. Hecker, of Irvington, at the prices named below :

William Henry Harrison's Administration of Indiana Territory.....	\$160.00
Making a Capital in the Wilderness.....	52.75
Census of Marion County.....	153.50
Some Elements of Indiana's Population.....	41.50
Lockertbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis, 1835	138.25
Total	<u>\$546.00</u>

The following were paid out of the appropriation on orders drawn by the President and Secretary of the Society, as follows :

December 31, 1907.....	\$160.00
September 30, 1908.....	140.00
October 31, 1909.....	66.25
January 31, 1909.....	41.50
September 31, 1909.....	138.25
Total	<u>\$546.00</u>
Leaving an unexpended balance of the appro- priation of.....	54.00
Which has reverted to the General Fund.	

The legislature, at its session in 1909, made an appropriation for the Society similar in amount and on same conditions, which became available October 1, 1909, and continues until

September 30, 1911. No orders have so far been drawn against this appropriation, there being no manuscripts ready for publication, for which to draw warrants.

At the annual meeting on December 26, 2907, the Executive Committee was authorized to expend not to exceed \$150.00 in aid of the continued publication of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*. Of the amount so voted there were drawn by the publishers for expense of publication for the year 1908 the following amounts:

September 24, 1908.....	\$ 50.00
January 2, 1909.....	60.00
Total	<u>\$110.00</u>

A like amount was voted for the same purpose at the annual meeting on December 31, 1908, and of the amount so voted there have been drawn by the publishers the following amounts for the year 1909:

October 19, 1909.....	\$ 60.00
December 23, 1909.....	40.00
Total	<u>\$100.00</u>

No statement has been rendered the Society by the Bobbs-Merrill Company of sales made by that company of the Society's Publications since the date of the last annual meeting.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee, on December 9, 1909, Mr. Charles Moores, C. B. Coleman and Jacob P. Dunn were appointed a special committee to co-operate with like committees of the State Teachers' Association and various other organizations, in the making of arrangements for the reception of the American Historical Association and other bodies which will hold meetings in this city during the coming year.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of *Lockerbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis, 1835*, edited by Eliza G. Browning, as No. 7 of Vol. IV of the Society's Publications.

The Treasurer reported as follows:

Cash on hand.....	193.37
Funds invested	\$3,000.00
Total	\$3,193.37

The Audit Committee, Messrs. Moores and Reagan, reported the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer correct and in proper form.

On motion an appropriation of not more than \$150.00 was made for the support of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*.

William G. Sullivan, of Indianapolis, was elected a member.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Charles W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Captain W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Bishop D. O'Donaghue
Treasurer.....	Charles E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee—	John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris, Charles W. Moores, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

December 1, 1910.

The Society met on call at Judge Howe's office to consider appropriations for the American Historical Society meeting in Indianapolis, December 27-31.

On motion of Professor Coleman, \$50.00 was voted to the Finance Committee of the Local Committee of Arrangements.

The following were appointed delegates to the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies: Demarchus Brown, Harlow Lindley and J. P. Dunn.

The following were appointed a committee to prepare a memorial for the State Library and State Museum, as a centennial memorial of the admission of the state to the Union: Prof. C. B. Coleman, Demarchus Brown, J. P. Dunn, C. W. Moores and A. C. Harris.

Mrs. Harriet McIntire Foster was elected a member.

On motion of Mr. Dunn, the following was adopted:

Whereas, We have entered on the centennial period of the settlement of the Ohio and Upper Mississippi Valleys, and general interest is felt in the dealings with the Indian tribes of this region, in that period, and

Whereas, These tribes have been widely scattered, and some are almost extinct; while there is danger that their languages may become wholly lost on account of the younger generations adopting the English language;

Resolved, That our senators and representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to secure appropriations of \$5,000.00 a year for the next two years, to be expended by the Bureau of Ethnology in special work for the record and preservation of these languages.

On motion of Mr. Dunn the following was adopted:

Whereas, There is a general feeling of the citizens of the State that Indiana should appropriately celebrate the centennial anniversary of her admission to the Union, and the great significance of this event is historical, and

Whereas, The State's chief agencies for the preservation of his history are the State Library in which are preserved the printed and written records of her history, and the State Museum, in which are preserved the battle flags and other mementoes of the deeds of her people in war and peace, the specimens of her native flora and fauna, and other historic material of great interest to the people of the State, and

Whereas, In the overcrowded condition of the State Capitol, both of these institutions are impeded in their proper work, and in some cases have been obliged to refuse donations, on account of lack of space for their care, of material that is liable to be lost for lack of place of keeping;

Resolved, That the General Assembly be requested to prepare for such centennial celebration by provision at its coming session for an adequate permanent building, on grounds adjacent to the State Capitol, for the housing of the State Library and State Museum, and other agencies devoted to the preservation of historical material;

Resolved, further, That all citizens of the State who believe that Indiana has a history in which her people may take a just pride and who feel that it should be carefully preserved and handed down to all future generations, be requested to use their influence now to have such preparation made that said proposed Centennial Memorial Building may be erected and prepared for dedication by December 11, 1916.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 29, 1910.

The Society met at Judge Howe's office, he occupying the chair. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since the last annual meeting, on December 30, 1909.

The total membership of the Society at this date is as follows:

Regular members	83
Honorary members	11
Total	94

No deaths of members have been reported since the last annual meeting.

The Treasurer's annual report to December 22, 1910, shows assets as follows:

Permanent endowment fund.....	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	338.27
Total	\$3,338.27

The Treasurer's report also shows that the permanent endowment fund is invested in first mortgage bonds.

At the last annual meeting an appropriation of not exceeding \$150.00 for the year 1910 was voted to be paid out of the funds of the Society in aid of the publication of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*; but the only requisition drawn on this appropriation for the year 1910 has been for the sum of \$13.50.

Since the last annual meeting, the Society has published the following pamphlet, viz.:

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Monroe County, Indiana. By Dr. James Albert Woodburn.

This pamphlet is No. 8 of Vol. IV of the Indiana Historical Society Publications. One thousand copies of it were printed at a cost of \$126.35, which was paid out of the legislative appropriation of \$300.00 provided for in the Act of 1909. The unexpended balance of the appropriation for the year 1910, viz.: \$173.65, has reverted to the General Fund of the State.

The legislative appropriation of \$300.00 which became available October 1, 1910, will expire on September 30, 1911, and unless expended before that date will revert to the State General Fund.

The proceedings of the Society at the special meeting held on December 1, 1910, and of the Executive Committee are fully set forth in the minutes of the Recording Secretary.

Since the last annual meeting no statement has been rendered to the Secretary by the Bobbs-Merrill Company for sales made by that company of the Society's Publications.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President.

The Treasurer reported:

Permanent endowment	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	338.27
Total	<u>\$3,338.27</u>

The following new members were elected: Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, Irvington, Ind.; Mrs. India C. Harris, Indianapolis, Ind.; Colonel W. M. Cockrum, Oakland City, Ind., and Logan Esarey, Winona Lake, Ind.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....Judge D. W. Howe
 First Vice-President.....Charles W. Moores
 Second Vice-President.....Captain W. E. English
 Third Vice-President.....J. A. Woodburn
 Treasurer.....Charles E. Coffin
 Recording Secretary.....J. P. Dunn
 Corresponding Secretary.....C. B. Coleman
 Executive Committee—John J. Holliday, A. C. Harris,
 Eliza G. Browning, Charles Martindale and
 George S. Cottman.

On motion, the Executive Committee was directed to take up the question of the translation and publication of Ch. Alex Lesueuer's *Les Voyages du Naturaliste*."

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Tuesday, November 28, 1911.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at the office of President Howe at 2:00 p. m.

The President submitted a proposed new contract with the Bobbs-Merrill Company for the custody and sale of the Society's Publications, at a commission of 40 per cent on sales. On motion the President and Secretary were directed to have the proposed contract amended so as to show that the Bobbs-Merrill Company took the responsibility of insurance against fire loss, and that the commission did not apply to books ordered by the Society for exchange purposes; and then to execute the contract for the Society.

The Secretary reported a bid from the Sentinel Printing Company to bind volumes of the Publications in the style of Vol. II, cloth cover, at 27 cents per volume, if the sheets were furnished gathered and sewed, and at 32½ cents if not sewed.

The Secretary was directed to have 100 copies each of Vols. I, III and IV, bound at these rates.

On motion it was ordered that 100 copies of No. 8, Vol. IV, be furnished to the author, Professor J. A. Woodburn, at 13 cents each.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, December 28, 1911.

The Society met in the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Company, President Howe in the chair.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following annual report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting, on December 29, 1910.

The total membership of the Society at this date is as follows:

Regular members	64
Honorary members	7
Total	71

No deaths or resignations of members have been reported since date of last annual meeting.

The Treasurer's annual report to December 20, 1911, shows assets as follows:

Permanent endowment fund.....	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	475.81
Total	\$3,475.81

The Treasurer's report also shows that the Permanent Endowment Fund is invested in first mortgages.

Since the last annual meeting the Society has had printed the following publications:

Pamphlet No. 9, Vol. 4, 1,000 copies at cost of...	\$ 99.75
Pamphlet No. 1, Vol. 5, 500 copies at cost of...	50.75
Index to Vol. 4, 1,000 copies at cost of...	65.30
New Roster for 1911, 1,000 copies at cost of...	19.00

Total	\$234.80
The Executive Committee employed Miss Florence Jones to prepare the Index to Vol. 4, which has been excellently done, at cost of...	\$ 40.00
Out of the legislative appropriation for the year beginning October 1, 1910, and ending September 30, 1911, namely.....	300.00
There has been paid to Edward Hecker for Printing as shown above.....	234.80

Leaving a balance of.....	\$ 65.20
Which reverted to the General Fund.	

Out of the legislative appropriation for the year, beginning October 1, 1911, and ending September 30, 1912, no warrants have yet been paid.

Since the last annual meeting, by authority of the Executive Committee, a new and advantageous contract has been made with the Bobbs-Merrill Company for the custody and sale of the publications of the Society, which the Secretary will exhibit and more fully explain to the meeting.

By authority of the Executive Committee a contract has been made with the Sentinel Printing Company for binding of volumes:

Vol. I,
Vol. III,
Vol. IV,

so that the Society now has a sufficient number of bound volumes to supply present need.

We have been permitted to hold this meeting in the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Company by the courtesy of the company, to which I suggest that the thanks of the Society be expressed.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President.

The Executive Committee reported the publication of *Indianapolis and the Civil War*, by John H. Holliday, being No. 9 of Vol. IV, and completing the volume, also the index for said volume; also, *Lincoln's Body Guard*, by Judge Robert McBride being No. 1 of Vol. V.

The Treasurer's report was read, and reported correct by the special auditing committee, Messrs. Holliday and Moores, to which it was referred.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the Union Trust Company for the use of the meeting room.

On motion of Dr. Wynn, a committee of three was appointed to ask an appropriation from the next legislature for the purchase and preservation of relics and documents relating to the history of Indiana. Dr. Wynn, Professor Brown and Mr. Cottman were appointed.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris, Eliza G. Browning, Chas. Martindale and Geo. Cottman.

New members were elected as follows: Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, Madison, Ind.; Mrs. Sam Matthews, Tipton, Ind.;

Mary McArdle, Tipton, Ind.; Arthur W. Brady, Anderson, Ind.; Daniel L. Dorsey, Indianapolis, Ind.; and J. C. Shaffer, Chicago, Ill.

The following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, The Mississippi Valley Historical Society, the Ohio Valley Historical Society, and the several state historical societies of the Central West have petitioned Congress to make a special appropriation of \$5,000.00 a year to the Bureau of Ethnology for the work of preserving the language of the Indian tribes of this region, and

Whereas, No action has yet been taken in this matter, and the said tribes are rapidly losing by death the older members, who alone have full knowledge of these languages, so much so that an expenditure of \$5,000.00 now will accomplish more than one of \$50,000.00 ten years hereafter.

Resolved, That this Society earnestly urges the senators and representatives of this State to use every proper effort to secure the desired appropriation at this session of Congress;

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our several senators and congressmen and to the other State and local historical societies, with request for similar action.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

January 19, 1912.

A meeting of the Executive Committee, duly called, was held at the office of President Howe at 4:00 p. m.

Professor Demarchus Brown presented a statement of the finances of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*.

Miss E. G. Browning was appointed a special committee to audit the accounts, and reported them correct.

The following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, There is reported a deficit of \$77.26 in the publication of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for 1911;

Resolved, That the Treasurer of the Society be directed to pay the said sum of \$77.26 to State Librarian Demarchus Brown to meet the said deficit.

Also, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, The continuation of the publication of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* is very desirable, and whereas the support of the same by subscriptions is not adequate to meet the expenses,

Resolved, That the Indiana Historical Society pledge the sum of \$50.00 a year, or so much thereof as is needed, for the continuation of said publication; and that each of the six patriotic societies of Indiana be asked to guarantee \$10.00 a year, or subscribe for ten copies at \$1.00 each.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

January 23, 1912.

A meeting of the Society, duly called, was held at the office of Judge Howe.

The name of Edwin O. Wood, of Flint, Mich., was presented for membership, and on ballot he was duly elected.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Recording Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 26, 1912.

The Society met in annual meeting at the Union Trust Assembly Room, President Howe in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meetings were read and adopted.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following annual report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting, on December 28, 1911. At that date the total membership of the Society was

Regular members.....	64
Honorary members.....	7
Total	<u>71</u>

The following additional members were elected at the last annual meeting: Mrs. Mary McArdle, Tipton, Ind.; Mrs. Drusilla L. Cravens, Madison, Ind.; Mrs. Sam Matthews, Tipton, Ind.; Mr. Daniel L. Dorsey, Indianapolis, Ind., and Mr. J. C. Shaffer, Chicago, Ill.

At the called meeting of the Society on January 23, 1912, there was also elected Edwin O. Wood, of Flint, Mich.

No deaths or resignations of either regular or honorary members have been reported since the last annual meeting, except resignation of A. O. Reser.

The present membership of the Society is as follows:

Regular members.....	70
Honorary members.....	7
Total	<u>77</u>

The Treasurer's report shows a payment since the last annual meeting on the mortgage of Robert Keller, representing part of the permanent endowment fund of.....\$ 500.00

And the residue of the permanent endowment
fund invested on mortgage security
amounting to ----- 2,500.00

Total permanent endowment fund...\$3,000.00
In addition to the \$500.00 of the permanent
endowment fund, the Treasurer holds in
cash the further sum of..... 663.90

Making a total of cash invested and
on hand of.....\$3,663.90

I recommend that the \$500.00 in the Treasurer's hands
belonging to the permanent endowment fund be reinvested
on good mortgage security, and that some action be taken in
reference to the surplus cash in the Treasurer's hands
of \$663.90.

Legislative appropriation for the Society for the fiscal
year, October 1, 1911, to October 1, 1912, was \$300.00.

This has been expended on warrants drawn on the State
Treasury, as follows:

June 30, 1912, to the Sentinel Printing Co., for
binding, as per bill.....\$127.05

Sept. 30, 1912, To Edward J. Hecker on account
of printing 1,000 copies of Logan Esarey's
pamphlet on Internal Improvements, be-
ing No. 2 of Vol. 5..... 172.95

Total ----- \$300.00

The total bill of Mr. Hecker for printing Mr.
Esarey's pamphlet was ----- \$196.80

Of this amount there was paid out of the State
Treasury as above ----- 173.95

Leaving a balance of.....\$ 23.85

Which was paid by the Treasurer out of the
funds of the Society.

Of Mr. Esarey's pamphlet, three hundred copies
were sold by order of the Executive Com-
mittee to the Indiana University at cost,
amounting to ----- \$ 60.00

The pamphlet of Mr. Esarey is the only publication of
the Society since the last annual meeting.

The residue of the pamphlets published by the Society, after deducting the usual number donated to the authors and to the newspapers for distribution among the members, has been turned over to the Bobbs-Merrill Company, pursuant to the contract with the Society.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE.

The report of the Treasurer was read and reported correct by the auditing committee, Messrs. D. C. Brown and C. W. Moores.

On motion of Mr. Moores, the Society appropriated not more than \$100.00 to the support of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*.

On motion Messrs D. C. Brown and C. W. Moores were appointed a committee to prepare a definite plan for exchange and distribution of publications and report the same.

Professor H. Lindley submitted a letter from the American Historical Association asking a further contribution to the fund for indexing the French Archives. Referred to the Executive Committee.

Miss Pearl Caldwell, of Indianapolis, was elected a member of the Society.

Professor Woodburn presented the subject of the Indiana University Survey of Indiana History, and the Executive Committee was directed to take up the question of its publication.

The President and Treasurer were instructed to invest \$1,000.00, reported on hand, in Marion County mortgage securities.

Officers for 1913 were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman

Executive Committee: John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris,
Eliza G. Browning, Charles Martindale and George
Cottman.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

February 13, 1913.

The Executive Board met at Judge Howe's office. Present, Messrs. Howe, Woodburn, Moores, Coffin, Cottman and Miss Browning.

Professor Woodburn presented the interests of the Indiana Historical Survey of Indiana University, and the publication of its papers.

On motion of Mr. Brown, resolved that the publication of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* be continued under the auspices of the Society, the Indiana Historical Survey and the State Library, the question of editorship to be decided by the Survey and Mr. Cottman.

On motion, resolved that a meeting be called to amend the constitution to permit more speedy action in admission of members. Mr. Moores was appointed to draft the amendment.

The Board then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

February 20, 1913, 4:00 P. M.

A meeting of the Society was held pursuant to the order of the Executive Board on February 13, at the office of Judge

Howe, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the constitution.

Mr. Moores, who had been appointed to draft the amendments to Art. 8 and Art. 6, which were approved and referred to the next meeting of the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

February 20, 1913, 5:00 P. M.

The Society met at the call of the President on the request of Messrs. Coffin, Coleman and Dunn, to consider the proposed amendments to the constitution, which were adopted as follows:

Article 6 was amended to read as follows:

ART. 6. Applications for membership shall be upon written petition and shall be referred to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have sole and final authority to elect to membership in the Society.

Article 8 was amended to read as follows:

ART. 8. Sec. 1. Each member shall pay into the hands of the Treasurer two dollars (\$2.00) annually as due. On failure to pay such dues within thirty (30) days after December 31 of each year, or after the delinquent's election to membership, such delinquent shall be suspended from all privileges of membership, without motion, and after thirty (30) days delinquency during the suspension, after notice by the Secretary, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to strike his name from the rolls, and he shall be no longer a

member, nor shall any such person be again eligible for membership until his arrearages are paid.

Sec. 2. Every member in good standing in the Society shall be entitled to receive without charge to himself a copy of each publication of the Society, which shall have been issued during the period of his membership, and the Executive Committee shall have authority to authorize the issuance to members of any periodical publication or magazine over the publication of which the Society has control, or to the support of which the Society contributes, without cost to such member. The provisions of this section may be made retroactive only upon formal action by the Executive Committee of the Society, and only as to publications of which, in the judgment of the committee, the Society may have a sufficient number to justify such free distribution.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

December 24, 1913, 1:00 P. M.

The Executive Committee met at the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Company. Quorum present.

The following persons were duly elected members: Mary Stewart Carey, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Roscoe Hawkins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Sarah F. Atkins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph T. Elliott, Indianapolis, Ind.; George Pence, Columbus, Ind.; Charles W. Brown, South Milford, Ind., and Ernest V. Shockney, Bloomington, Ind.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 24, 1913, 2:00 P. M.

The Society held its annual meeting at the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Company, President Howe in the chair.

Minutes of past meetings read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following annual report of the proceedings of the Society, since its last annual meeting, on December 26, 1912.

Since then no deaths or suspensions have been reported, and but one resignation—that of John S. Duncan.

The present membership of the Society is:

Regular members	76
Honorary members	7
Total	83

The Treasurer's annual report brings his account down to include December 20, 1913. It shows receipts and expenditures since last annual report.

Total receipts	\$2,979.96
Total expenditures	2,427.71
Leaving a balance of cash on hand.....	\$ 562.25

The Treasurer's report also shows the present
 endowment funds to be.....\$3,200.00
 Making the total funds of the society.....\$3,762.25

Also that the endowment fund of \$3,200.00 is all invested in first mortgage securities.

The legislative appropriation for the Society for the State fiscal year, beginning October 1, 1912, and ending October 1, 1913, was...\$300.00
Of this amount there was expended on warrants drawn on the State Treasury as follows:

September 30, 1913, to Edward J. Hecker, on account of printing pamphlet No. 3, Vol. 5 51.65
Leaving a balance of.....\$248.35

Which reverted to the State Treasury on October 1, 1913.

The legislative appropriation for the state fiscal year beginning October 1, 1913, and ending October 1, 1914, was.....\$300.00
Of this amount there has been paid to Mr. Hecker balance due him for printing pamphlet No. 3 of Vol. 5..... 14.10
Leaving a balance still due to the Society of\$285.90

The only publication of the Society since the last regular meeting is a pamphlet by Taylor Elliott, entitled *The Sultana Disaster*, being pamphlet No. 3 of Vol. V of the Society's Publications.

Of this pamphlet there were delivered to the Bobbs-Merrill Company under the Society's contract with that company..... 800
To the Secretary of the Society for distribution among the members 150
To the author, Mr. Elliott..... 50
Total1,000

At the last regular meeting the Society voted an appropriation of not exceeding one hundred dollars for the support of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. The full amount of the appropriation has been paid to the publishers of the magazine, which is now published quarterly by the Department of History of the Indiana University, with the

co-operation of the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library. The magazine has now attained high rank among the historical magazines of the country. Vol. IX has just been completed, and fully justifies the expectations of its promoters and the further support of this Society.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE.

The Executive Committee reported members elected as above; also the publication of No. 3, Vol. V, of the Society's Publications, *The Sultana Disaster*, by Joseph T. Elliott.

On motion the Treasurer was instructed to mail copies of Society Publications to members who were not delinquent in fees; the *Indiana Magazine of History* to be mailed to same members by the publishing board at Bloomington.

The Treasurer filed his report showing on hand:

Invested in 6 per cent. mortgage securities.....	\$3,200.00
Cash on hand	562.25

The report was examined by the Auditing Committee and found correct; whereupon it was approved by the Society.

The resignation of John S. Duncan was submitted and accepted.

On motion, not to exceed \$200.00 was appropriated for the support of the *Indiana Magazine of History* in the year 1914.

The special committee on exchange of documents and publications reported a list of exchanges which was approved; and Demarchus Brown, State Librarian, was directed to take charge of exchanges.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin

Recording Secretary-----J. P. Dunn
 Corresponding Secretary-----C. B. Coleman
 Executive Committee: John H. Holliday, A. C.
 Harris, George S. Cottman, Charles Martindale,
 Eliza G. Browning.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

April 21, 1914.

The Executive Committee met at 4: p. m., on call of the President, at Judge Howe's office

E. J. Hecker's bid for printing constitution and by-laws, with roster of members, 300 copies for \$20.00, was accepted.

The following persons were elected to membership: W. W. Sweet, Greencastle (DePauw University); Mrs. Clara Ingram Judson, Richmond; Mrs. Martha Brandriff Hanna, Fort Wayne; Mrs. Newberry Howe, Delphi; Mrs. Otto Rott, Bloomington; Mrs. Eben H. Wolcott, and Mrs. Henry A. Beck, Indianapolis.

On motion, President Howe was authorized to make arrangements as deemed proper, with Logan Esarey, editor of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, for selling publications of the Society on a commission.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

July 30, 1914.

The Executive Committee met at 4:00 p. m., on call of the President, at Judge Howe's office.

The following persons were elected to membership: Rev. John Poucher, Orleans, Ind.; Louis A. Meyer, Vincennes, Ind.; Isaac E. Schoonover, Covington, Ind., and Albert Rabb, Indianapolis, Ind.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

November 20, 1914.

The Executive Committee met at 2:00 p. m., on call of the President, at Judge Howe's office.

The Secretary reported that he had secured a room in the City Hall for the use of the Society, and a motion was directed to remove the books and other property of the Society, excepting what was on deposit in the State Library, from the State House to the City Hall.

The following names of persons were proposed for membership and elected: Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Bennett, Mrs. Arthur Stanley Brooks, Mrs. William J. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur V. Brown, Mrs. Kate Noble Dean, Mr. Randle C. Dean, Mrs. Edgar H. Evans, Dr. and Mrs. E. F. Hodges, Mrs. John H. Holliday, Mrs. Jacquelin S. Holliday, Mrs. Frank E. Gavin, Mrs. William A. Guthrie, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Judah, Mr. Merrill Moores, Mrs. Frank Athon Morrison, Mrs. Theodore A. Wagner, Mrs. Benjamin D. Walcott, all of Indianapolis; Professor Francis Marion Stalker, of Terre Haute, and Mrs. James Robert McKee, of New York City.

The resignation of William Edward Coffin, of New York City, was accepted.

On motion the President was authorized to make such

arrangements as he deemed proper with the *Magazine of Indiana History*, for publication of the list of the Society's Publications.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

December 31, 1914.

The Society met in annual session at 2:00 p. m., in the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Company.

The minutes of preceding meetings were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting on December 24, 1913.

Since then no deaths of members have been reported, and but one resignation—that of William E. Coffin, of New York City.

Since the last annual meeting the following have been elected regular members of the Society:

April 21, 1914—W. W. Sweet, Greencastle, Ind.; Mrs. Clara Ingram Judson, Richmond, Ind.; Mrs. Martha Brandriff Hanna, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Mrs. Newbery Howe, Delphi, Ind.; Mrs. Otto Rott, Bloomington, Ind.; Mrs. Eben A. Wolcott, Indianapolis, Ind., and Mrs. Henry A. Beck, Indianapolis, Ind.

July 30, 1914—John Poucher, Orleans, Ind.; Louis Meyer, Vincennes, Ind.; Isaac Schoonover, Covington, Ind., and Albert Rabb, Indianapolis, Ind.

November, 20, 1914—Henry W. Bennett, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Henry W. Bennett, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Arthur Stanley Brooks, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. William J. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Arthur V. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Arthur V. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Kate Noble Dean, Indianapolis, Ind.; Randle C. Dean, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Edgar H. Evans, Indianapolis, Ind.; Edward F. Hodges, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Edward F. Hodges, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. John H. Holliday, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Jacquelin S. Holliday, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Frank E. Gavin, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. William A. Guthrie, Indianapolis, Ind.; John M. Judah, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. John M. Judah, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. James Robert McKee, New York City, N. Y.; Merrill Moores, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Frank Athon Morrison, Indianapolis, Ind.; Professor Francis Marion Stalker, Terre Haute, Ind.; Mrs. Theodore A. Wagner, Indianapolis, Ind., and Mrs. Benjamin D. Walcott, Indianapolis, Ind.

The present membership of the Society is:

Regular members	102
Honorary members	7
Total	109

The Treasurer's annual report brings his account down to December 28, 1914. It shows:

Balance on hand at last report.....	\$3,762.25
Total receipts	343.78
	<hr/>
Total disbursements	\$4,106.03
	231.59
	<hr/>
Balance on hand	\$3,874.44
There is invested of the funds of the Society, including \$3,000 of the endowment fund.....	\$3,400.00
Cash on hand not invested.....	474.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$3,874.44

As shown by my last annual report of December 24, 1913, there was then on hand of the legislative appropriation of the fiscal year ending October 1, 1914-----\$285.90
 Of this amount there was paid on August, 1914, to Mr. Edward J. Hecker for printing---- 75.05
 Leaving a balance on Oct. 1 of-----\$210.85
 Which reverted to the State General Fund.

The only publication of the Society printed since the last annual meeting was a pamphlet by Mr. John H. Holliday, entitled *An Indiana Village*.

Of this pamphlet there were printed 1,000, which were distributed as follows:

Of this pamphlet there were printed-----1,000
 To the author, Mr. Holliday----- 50
 Reserved for distribution among the members-- 150
 To Bobbs-Merrill Company, under the Society's contract with that company ----- 800
 1,000

At the last regular meeting the Society voted an appropriation not exceeding \$200.00 for the support of the *Indiana Magazine of History* for the year 1914. This amount, as shown by the Treasurer's report, has been fully paid.

Since the last annual meeting the Society has been routed out of the room in the basement of the State House, in which were kept the Society's books and records. Mr. Jacob P. Dunn came to our rescue and had the books and records removed to a room which he secured for us in the City Hall, without any charge to the Society. For his services in this matter he is entitled to the thanks of the Society.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE.

The Treasurer filed his annual report, showing receipts of \$343.78 and disbursements of \$231.59 during the year,

making total cash assets \$3,874.44, of which \$3,400.00 is invested on mortgage security and \$474.44 cash in the treasury. The report was duly audited and reported correct.

On motion of Mr. Holliday, a donation of not to exceed \$200.00, in the discretion of the Executive Committee, was voted for support of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

On motion of Mr. Holliday it was voted to pay the *Indiana Magazine of History* \$1.00 for each member of the Society to whom the said magazine was mailed in 1914 and 1915.

A letter from Jesse Weik requesting aid of the Society in a movement to have the road by which the family of Abraham Lincoln removed from the state marked under authority of the state, was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

Charles Moores, appointed to draft proposed amendment of Arts. 4 and 5 of the Constitution, reported as follows:

Amend Article IV of Constitution to read as follows:

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of the Society shall be :

First—A President, who shall preside and preserve order at all meetings of the Society.

Second—Three Vice-Presidents, one of whom, in the order of election, shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the President.

Third—A Corresponding Secretary, who shall be charged with all correspondence required by the affairs of the Society.

Fourth—A Recording Secretary, who shall record and preserve the minutes of the Society.

Fifth—A Treasurer, who shall receive all moneys due the Society, and hold the same subject to its order, and make an annual report of all receipts and disbursements.

Sixth—An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer and five others to be elected as other officers are chosen, whose duty it shall be to meet on the days upon which the Society holds its sessions or at such other times as they deem expedient; to select subjects for public lectures and appoint the individuals by whom the same shall be delivered at the annual meetings of the Society; to attend to the publication of such lectures and other documents as they may deem expedient; to take charge of all books, papers, specimens, models, curiosities, pictures, etc., belonging to the Society, and to submit reports of their proceedings at the meetings of the Society. They shall have power to make by-laws not inconsistent with the Constitution; to direct and superintend all disbursements, and generally to carry into effect all measures not otherwise provided for. Five shall constitute a quorum.

Repeal Article V.

The report was ordered entered on the minutes and referred to the next meeting.

The matter of a proposed Indiana Historical Commission was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris, George S. Cottman, Charles Martindale, Eliza G. Browning.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 31, 1914.

The Executive Committee convened immediately following the adjournment of the Society.

The following persons were elected to membership: George O. Dix, 1333 S. Center street, Terre Haute; Wm. Darroch, Kentland; John C. Chaney, Sullivan; Charles W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis; Richard N. Elliott, 1326 Indiana avenue, Connersville; Vinson Carter (Fl. Sav. & Tr. Co.), Indianapolis; John O. Bowers, Gary, Ind.; Frank E. Gavin, 1004 N. Delaware, Indianapolis; John H. Kiplinger, Rushville; Frank Ellis, Muncie; B. F. Kinnick, Greenwood; John E. Hampton, 1446 Central, Indianapolis; Geo. L. Harding, Bloomington; Minnie Catharine McIntyre, Valparaiso; Louise Tyrrel Fogle, Bourbon; Bona Thompson Memorial Library Assn., Irvington.

The Treasurer was authorized to pay \$200 to the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

The Secretary was directed to ask Jesse Weik for a copy of the Lincoln Bill.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

March 15, 1915.

The Executive Committee met on call at Judge Howe's office.

The following were elected to membership: Hiram B. Patten, Prof. Albert Kohlmeier, Bloomington, Ind.; Miss

Alice Engstrom, 1615 S. 4th street, Terre Haute; B. G. Shinn, Hartford City.

The publication of Colonel Major's Diary was authorized, and President Howe was directed to arrange for copying, etc.

The Secretary reported the gift of the minute book of the first Woman's Suffrage Society of Indiana by Miss Alice Blackwell, of Boston, Mass. The Secretary was authorized to secure the preparation and publication of a paper on this Suffrage movement in Indiana.

Prof. Demarchus Brown was selected as a member of the Indiana Historical Commission, created by the Legislature of 1915.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Oct. 14, 1915.

The Executive Committee met on call at Judge Howe's office at 3 p. m., quorum present.

On motion, the President and Secretary were directed to have Vol. 5 indexed and bound.

The following named persons were elected members: E. P. Hammond, Lafayette, Ind.; J. W. Kendall, Greenfield, Ind.; Chas. Roll, Bloomington, Ind.; O. M. Shekell, Plainville, Ind.; John C. Wingate, Wingate, Ind.

On motion, the Society united with the Indiana Historical Commission in an invitation to the Ohio Valley Historical Society to hold its 1916 meeting in Indianapolis.

On request of Minnesota University for exchange of

publications, it was ordered that exchanges be made for historical publications only.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 14, 1915.

The Executive Committee met on call at Judge Howe's office at 3 p. m., quorum present.

The following resignations were accepted: Mrs. Frank E. Gavin, Indianapolis; Mrs. C. I. Judson, Indianapolis; Benjamin F. Kinnick, Indianapolis; Mrs. John M. Judah, Indianapolis.

The following named persons were elected members: Elmore Barce, Covington, Ind.; W. H. Hamelle, Monticello, Ind.; W. H. Mace, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.; Ralph H. Mowbray, Culver, Ind.; Bernice Young, Alexandria, Ind.; Ida Allene Adams, 724 E. Wash. St., Greencastle, Ind.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 30, 1915.

The Society met in the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Co. President Howe being ill, Vice-President Woodburn presided. The annual report of President Howe was read and ordered filed, after the minutes had been read and approved.

The Treasurer reported on hand \$3,897.09, of which \$3,-400 was invested in mortgage notes. His report was audited by Messrs. Holliday and Cottman, and reported correct.

The Executive Committee reported the completion of Vol. 5 of the Society's Publications.

The Society took up the consideration of the amendment of Article 4 and repeal of Article 5 of the Constitution proposed at the last annual meeting. On motion, Article 4, clause 6, was amended by substituting the word "three" for the word "five" in the last line thereof. The amendment was then adopted.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moors
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Prof. James A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	C. E. Coffin
Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	Prof. C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, A. C. Harris,
	George S. Cottman, Charles Martindale and Eliza
	G. Browning.

On motion, it was ordered that the Executive Committee should, in its discretion, contribute not to exceed \$200 to the support of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, and \$1 for each member of the Society—to whom the magazine should be sent.

Prof. Lindley submitted a letter concerning contribution for Indiana Archives, which was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

April 15, 1916.

The Executive Committee met in called session at President Howe's office—quorum present.

The following named persons were elected members: J. A. Abell, Middletown, Ind.; A. B. Babcock, Goodland, Ind.; Mary C. Burhaus, 90 Ogden street, Hammond, Ind.; Mary E. Cox, 1810 Main street, Elwood, Ind.; Mrs. E. M. Fletcher, 72 Blacherne, Indianapolis, Ind.; W. S. McMasters, 1803 Park avenue, Indianapolis; E. H. Richardson, 931 Eastern avenue, Indianapolis; George R. Wilson, State Life Bldg., Indianapolis; Simpson A. Frazier, 322 S. Sycamore street, Centralia, Ill.; A. F. Knotts, Gary, Ind.; Mrs. M. Levering, Amagansett, L. I., N. Y.; John Overmeyer, North Vernon, Ind.; Archibald Shaw, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; E. W. Swarthout, Aurora, Ind.

The resignation of Mrs. Roscoe O. Hawkins was accepted. The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Sept. 15, 1916.

The Executive Committee met in called session at the State Library—quorum present.

John Wesley Whicker, of Attica, was elected a member as of Jan. 1, 1916, *nunc pro tunc*. The name of James Hazen Hyde, 38 Rue Barket de Jouy, Paris, France, was presented, and, on motion, action on the same was deferred until the next meeting.

On motion, it was ordered that the Indiana Historical Society pay the expenses of publishing the Proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Society for 1916, for the meeting to be held in Indianapolis October 4, 5, 6, 1916.

Dr. Woodburn and Prof. Lindley were elected delegates to the Conference of Historical Societies to be held at Cincinnati next month.

A communication was received from the National Highway Association asking the co-operation of the Society in preserving the names of historic highways. It was ordered that the Society co-operate, and the following committee was appointed to take the matter in charge: Captain English, Miss Browning, Hugh Th. Miller, Merrill Moores and Professor Coleman.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 14, 1916.

The Executive Committee met on call at Judge Howe's office, quorum present.

The following persons were elected members of the Society: Mrs. S. W. Asbury, Coalmont, Ind.; R. M. Hogue, Vincennes, Ind.; H. L. Walden, Eureka, Cal.; Benj. C. Waterman, 4020 Spring Garden street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Asa L. Williams, Fort Branch, Ind.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 28, 1916.

The Society met at 2:30 p. m. in the Assembly Room of the Union Trust Co., Judge Howe in the chair.

The minutes of preceding meetings were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting on December 30, 1915:

Since then the deaths of the following members have been reported: Joseph T. Elliott, Indianapolis, Ind.; Addison C. Harris, Indianapolis, Ind.; Edward F. Hodges, Indianapolis, Ind.

The death of Mr. Harris leaves a vacancy in the Executive Committee which should be filled at this meeting.

No resignations have been reported since the last annual meeting.

The names of the new members elected since the last annual meeting up to the date of printing the last roster of the Society in April, 1916, are included in the roster, except the following, elected since that date, all of them having been elected at a meeting of the Executive Committee held on December 14, 1916: Mrs. S. W. Asbury, Coalmont, Ind.; Rolla M. Hogue, 1212 Broadway, Vincennes, Ind.; H. L. Walden, Eureka, Cal.; Benj. C. Waterman, 4020 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Asa L. Williams, Fort Branch, Ind.

The only publications of the Society printed since the last annual report was a revised roster printed in April, 1916, of which 250 copies were printed and one copy was mailed to each member of the Society.

The present membership of the Society is:

Regular members	135
Honorary members	7
Total	142

The Treasurer's annual report brings his account down to include December 22, 1916.

It show balance on hand at date of report, Dec. 22, 1916.....	\$3,939.74
Balance on hand at last report.....	3,897.09
An increase of	\$ 42.65

The Treasurer's report also shows the amount of Society's fund invested as follows:

On mortgage loan	\$2,300.00
At interest in hand.....	1,100.00
Total invested	\$3,400.00
Which includes the endowment fund of	\$3,000.00
In addition to the cash invested as above stated, there is cash on hand not in- vested, the sum of.....	539.74
Making a total of.....	\$3,900.74

At the last regular meeting the Society authorized the Executive Committee to appropriate a sum, not exceeding \$200, for the year 1916 for the support of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. This amount, as shown by the last annual report of the Treasurer, has been fully paid. At the same meeting the Executive Committee was authorized to pay the publishers of the magazine the sum of \$1 of the \$2 annual dues collected from each member of the Society, to whom the magazine should be sent.

The legislative appropriation for the Society for the fiscal

year was \$300. Of this amount there has been paid for the Society the sums following:

To Edward J. Hecker, balance due for printing Pioneer of Morgan County and Life of Gen. Robert S. Foster.....	\$170.75
To Edward J. Hecker, printing Index to Vol. 5, Ind. His. Soc. publications.....	49.60
To Edward J. Hecker, society roster for 1916	29.95
Florence L. Jones, preparing Index to Vol. 5, Ind. His. Soc. publications.....	40.00
Total	\$290.30

Leaving a balance on hand on Oct. 1, 1916, of legislative appropriation for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1916, of.....\$ 9.70
Which amount reverted to the state general fund.

Nothing has yet been drawn of the legislative appropriation of \$300 to the Society for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1916, and ending September 30, 1917.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association accepted the invitation of this Society to hold the annual meeting of the Association for the year 1916 in Indianapolis, and, as shown in the minutes of the last annual meeting, this Society agreed to pay the expenses of printing the proceedings of the Association at such meeting. The printing has not yet been completed and the cost of publication to this Society has not yet been ascertained. The importance of a speedy settlement of the question of the cost of publication will be seen from my correspondence on the subject with Prof. Harlow Lindley, late President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, which I submit with this report.

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President.

(Correspondence submitted.)

Dec. 22, 1916.

My Dear Judge Howe:

I received your letter inquiring about the Proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Association on the next mail after I had written to you. I was called over here today for an historical conference and tried to reach you by phone, but I did not succeed, so I will write you a line. Since writing to you I have received the last paper, so I now have all the material in hand, and I will get it in shape for the printer early in January. It will make a volume not larger, and I think less, in size, than the last publication of the Society (Pioneers of Morgan County) and a large part of it concerns Indiana and has been prepared by critical historical scholars. My idea is for the *regular printer* of the *Indiana Historical Society* Publications to handle this material, so, judging from the last publication, you can get a close estimate as to the cost of printing. We can easily have this out of the way so as to utilize your state appropriation of 1916-1917.

I would like to attend the annual meeting of the Society on the 28th, but I have to be at Cincinnati then attending the American Historical Assn. On that day I preside at a conference of State and Local Historical Societies in which we are endeavoring to co-ordinate these activities.

With kindest regards, and the greetings of the season,
I am

Very sincerely,
HARLOW LINDLEY.

December 26, 1916.

Professor Harlow Lindley:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of Dec. 22. I regret very much that you cannot be present at the annual meeting

of the Indiana Historical Society on Dec. 28, as the matter of the publication of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at its meeting in Indianapolis in October last will come before that meeting.

I was much surprised by the statement in your letter that the proceedings when printed will make a volume about the size of the *Pioneers of Morgan County*. That was the largest pamphlet that was ever printed by the Indiana Historical Society. It makes nearly 300 pages and cost the Society \$403.65 and would cost now, with the increased cost of paper, about \$500. If the report is expanded into a volume the size of the last printed volume of the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the cost would probably run up to seven or eight hundred dollars. Certainly the Indiana Historical Society does not wish to bind itself to pay for printing the proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, regardless of the size and style of the volume, the number printed or the cost.

I suggest that, before any further steps are taken in regard to the printing, you or a committee of the Ohio Valley Association confer with the Executive Committee of the Indiana Historical Society. It might also be well to condense the report of the proceedings as much as possible, and, by all means, to get an estimate of the cost before beginning the work of printing.

I do not know whether the printing can be so managed that any part of the unexpended legislative appropriation (\$300) can be applied to the cost of printing the proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, but, if they can be so applied, this must be done by September 30, 1917. Moreover, I do not know how much, if anything, the Indiana legislature at its next session will appropriate for the benefit of the Indiana Historical Society.

The Society has only about \$500 in cash, over and above its endowment fund, only the interest of which can be used, and our dues nearly all go to the support of the Indiana Magazine of History.

As you will at once perceive, the whole matter is now in a very indefinite and unsatisfactory shape, and I trust that it will receive your prompt attention and that of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

Yours truly,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,
President Indiana Historical Society.

The Treasurer submitted his annual report, showing invested funds, \$3,400, and cash on hand, \$539.74; receipts for year, \$472.20; disbursements, \$429.55. The report was audited by Messrs. Holliday and C. W. Moores, and reported correct.

The Executive Committee reported progress on the diary of the White River Moravian Mission by Mr. Arthur Brady, which is to form Vol. 6 of the Society's Publications, with anticipation that it would be ready for publication in the spring or early summer.

A letter from Prof. Lindley was read, offering the service of the Indiana Historical Department of the State Library as a medium for circulating the Society's Publications. Referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

A letter from Professor Woodburn was read, recommending that the Society unite with the Indiana Pioneers in celebrating the centennial anniversary of George W. Julian on May 5, 1917. Referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act, and with the approval of the Society.

On motion of Captain English, C. W. Moores was recommended for continuance as a member of the Indiana Historical Commission.

On motion of Mrs. Theo. Wagner, a committee was appointed to prepare resolutions commending the gift of a park to Indianapolis by Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Holliday. Mrs. Wagner and Mr. Patton were appointed.

On motion, the Executive Committee was given the same power as last year for contribution to the support of the Indiana Magazine of History.

Officers were elected as follows:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, Charles
	Martindale, Eliza G. Browning, Mrs. Frank Athon
	Morrison, Logan Esarey.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 28, 1916.

The Executive Committee met after adjournment of the regular meeting, quorum present.

The resignation of Geo. S. Cottman was presented, but, after consideration, the President was asked to request him to withdraw it.

The matter of payment for publishing the Proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Society's meeting at Indianapolis was brought up, and the President was asked to secure further information.

New members were elected as follows: Arvill Barr, Yankton, S. D.; Dr. Wm. A. Fritsch, Evansville, Ind.; Ella Hartwig Kalley, Indianapolis, Ind.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Jan. 11, 1917.

The Committee met at Judge Howe's office on call, quorum present.

Mr. Lindley submitted bids received for printing 1,000 copies proceedings of Ohio Valley Historical Society, at Indianapolis. The lowest bid, that of C. E. Pauley, for \$240, was accepted.

Mr. George Cottman's resignation as an active member was accepted, and he was unanimously elected an honorary member.

New members were elected as follows: Samuel B. Judah, Box 85, Vincennes; W. T. Wilson, 206 4th street, Logansport; J. M. Haigerty, Loogootee.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 6, 1917.

The Executive Committee met at the office of Charles W. Moores. Quorum present.

The following persons were elected members of the So-

city: Thomas G. Brooks, Bedford, Ind.; Harry E. Negley, Indianapolis, Ind.; Asa H. Williams, Fort Branch, Ind.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Dec. 27, 1917.

The Society met at the Auditorium of the new City Library, Judge Howe presiding.

The minutes of preceding meetings were read and approved.

The President made his annual report of the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I respectfully submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting on December 28, 1916.

Since that date the death of the following member has been reported: Charles Pingpank, of Indianapolis.

Also the following resignations: George S. Cottman, of Indianapolis; Mrs. Martha Brandriff Hanna, of Fort Wayne, Ind.; Thomas F. Moran, of Lafayette, Ind.

Also the following dropped from membership pursuant to Article 7 of the Constitution: Charles Korbly, of Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Otto Rott, of Bloomington, Ind.; Bernice Young, of Alexandria, Ind.

Since the last annual meeting the following have been elected by the Executive Committee: Arvill Barr, Yankton, S. D., elected Dec. 28, 1916; Thomas G. Brooks, Bedford, Ind., elected Dec. 6, 1917; William A. Fritsch, Evansville, Ind., elected Dec. 28, 1916; J. M. Haigerty, Loogootee, Ind., elect-

ed Jan. 11, 1917; Mrs. Ella Hartwig Kalley, 2591 S. Delaware street, Indianapolis, Ind., elected Dec. 28, 1917; Samuel B. Judah, Vincennes, Ind., elected Jan. 11, 1917; Harry E. Negley, Indianapolis, Ind., elected Dec. 6, 1917; Asa H. Williams, Ft. Branch, Ind., elected Dec. 6, 1917; Wm. T. Wilson, Logansport, Ind., elected Jan. 11, 1917.

Since the last regular meeting the Executive Committee has also elected as an honorary member: George S. Cottman, Indianapolis, Ind.

The total membership of the Society is now:

Regular members	135
Honorary members	8
Total	143

The Treasurer's annual report brings down his accounts from date of his last preceding report, Dec. 22, 1916, to Dec. 21, 1917, and shows balance in favor of Society of \$4,004.78.

This consists of:

Endowment fund	\$3,000.00
Other funds	1,004.78
	<u>\$4,004.78</u>
Invested on mortgage loans.....	\$3,000.00
Cash on hand.....	1,004.78
	<u>\$4,004.78</u>

The legislative appropriation for the Society for the state's fiscal year beginning October 1, 1916, and ending September 30, 1917, was \$300.00. All of this was applied on the bill of C. E. Pauley & Co. for printing the Proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The total bill was \$324.00, and of this amount \$300 was paid April 12, 1917, by warrant on the state treasury, and the balance of \$24 was paid by the Society Treasurer out of the Society funds in his hands.

The legislative appropriation for the state's fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, 1917, and ending Sept. 30, 1918, was-----	\$300.00
Out of this appropriation there has been paid, by warrant, duly drawn to C. E. Pauley & Co., Nov. 6, 1917, for printing the <i>Sieur de Vincennes</i> pamphlet -----	\$167.50
Dec. 2, 1917, for printing the <i>Morgan Raid</i> pamphlet -----	75.00
	<hr/> 242.50
Leaving unexpended a balance of-----	\$ 57.50

Since the last annual meeting the following Society Publications have been issued:

Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Indianapolis, Ind., on Oct. 4 and 5, 1916, the same being pamphlet No. 1 of Vol. 6 of the Society Publications.

Sieur de Vincennes Identified, by Pierre Roy, with an Introduction by J. P. Dunn, the same being pamphlet No. 1 of Vol. 7 of the Society Publications.

Morgan's Raid in Indiana, by Louis B. Ewbank, the same being pamphlet No. 2 of Vol. 7 of the Society Publications.

One thousand copies of each of the foregoing publications were printed, and of this number 50 copies were delivered to the author, 200 copies reserved for distribution among members of the Society, 100 copies reserved for exchanges, and the remainder deposited with the Bobbs-Merrill Co., pursuant to the Society's contract with that company.

The manuscripts with which it was expected to complete Vol. 6 of the Society Publications have not yet been received and for this reason Vol. 7 was begun.

Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the regular annual meeting, the Treasurer, by order of the Executive Committee, has paid to the publishers of the *Indiana Magazine of History* the sum of \$200 for the support of the magazine, which

has recently completed Volume 13 and continues to maintain its high standard of excellence.

It was hoped that upon the opening of the new City of Indianapolis Library building a room there might be set apart for the use of the Society, where its books and records could be kept, and its meetings held, but no definite arrangement of this kind has yet been perfected. Our books and records are still stored in a room in the Indianapolis City Hall, and our meetings are held in places temporarily donated for that purpose by generous friends of the Society, this meeting being held in this room by the courtesy of Mr. Rush, librarian of the City Library.

As before stated, there is an unexpended balance of the legislative appropriation of only \$57.50. No further legislative appropriation can be made until the next session of the legislature, and there is little prospect of any future appropriation for some years. A considerable number of members are now in arrears for dues and it is not probable that there will be a material increase of funds from that source. It is desirable, if practicable, for the Society to continue its financial support of the Indiana Magazine of History. A considerable sum, probably exceeding \$500, will be required to publish the manuscripts now in preparation, with which it is expected to complete the publication of Volume 6 of the Society Publications. In view of these conditions, I suggest that the Society should carefully conserve its funds, and limit its expenses accordingly.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE,

President.

The Treasurer reported \$4,004.78 on hand, of which \$3,000 was invested in mortgage loans, and \$1,004.78 on deposit in bank. Receipts for the year \$406.70; expenditures, \$341.66;

dues delinquent and unpaid, \$79.00. The report was audited by Mr. Esarey and Miss Browning and reported correct.

The Executive Committee reported the publication since the last meeting of "Sieur de Vincennes, Identified," by Pierre-Georges Roy, and Morgan's Raid in Indiana, by Judge Louis Ewbank, being Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume 7, of the Society's Publications. Other works were reported in progress.

The Executive Committee was authorized to contribute not to exceed \$200 for the support of the Indiana Magazine of History during the ensuing year.

The subject of a special membership for libraries and clubs which desire to obtain the publications of the Society was considered, and referred to a special committee composed of Messrs. Demarchus Brown, Chas. W. Moores, Negley, Esarey and Miss Browning, with instructions to report to the Executive Committee.

The committee appointed to prepare resolutions on the gift of a park to Indianapolis by Mr. and Mrs. John H. Holliday, reported as follows:

"Whereas, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Holliday have recently given their beautiful country home and many surrounding acres to the city of Indianapolis to be used for park purposes, and

"Whereas, The Indiana Historical Society recognizes in said act not only a great and generous gift to this immediate community, but an epoch-making event that should be noted by the entire state; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the members of the Indiana Historical Society hereby express to Mr. and Mrs. John H. Holliday their sincere gratitude for this most generous gift and also acknowledge their deep appreciation of those noble qualities of mind and heart which made such gift possible; be it further

"Resolved, That, coming as it did at the time of celebrating Indiana's first centennial, the gift of Holliday Park stands out as a high tower with beacon light, marking the century closed, and the one just entered.

"A soft light glows upon the past, as our pioneers of 1800 pass in review, but a broader light shines for Indiana's future. The park which bears their names will be a blessing and benefit to all coming generations.

"May Mr. and Mrs. Holliday have the gratifications of knowing that their names are indelibly written into the history of Indiana, as most generous citizens and true benefactors of our commonwealth.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Indiana Magazine of History, that they be spread upon the minutes of the Indiana Historical Society and that a copy be sent to Mr. and Mrs. Holliday."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mrs. Carey made a report on the adoption of a State Flag by the legislature, at request of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

On motion, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, Charles
	Martindale, Eliza G. Browning, Mrs. Frank Athon
	Morrison, Logan Esarey.

The Society then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

June 1, 1918.

The Executive Committee met pursuant to call of President Howe, at 1300 Fletcher Trust Building, at 2 o'clock p. m.

Present: President D. W. Howe, Mrs. F. A. Morrison, C. E. Coffin, Charles Martindale and Charles W. Moores.

The following applications were canvassed and, upon motion, applications were duly elected to membership: Homer Caswell, Hinkley, Ill.; W. W. Scott, College avenue and Maple Road, Indianapolis; O. G. Boisseau, Holden, Mo.

President reported cash available, \$57.50 out of amount allotted by State of Indiana.

Moved that the Executive Committee recommend to the annual meeting that \$500 be transferred to the endowment fund. Carried.

Moved that the Treasurer be authorized to make a mortgage loan of from \$500 to \$800 on security approved by him. Carried.

Moved that \$200 be paid to Indiana Magazine of History in accordance with the authority given by the annual meeting. Carried.

Moved that the publication of the Journal of Thomas Dean be referred to President Howe and Secretary Dunn, with authority to proceed with the publication, and that Mr. Howe be requested to send to Mr. Logan Esarey for the manuscript dealing with the early settlement of Vevay. Carried.

The Committee then adjourned.

CHAS. W. MOORES,
Secretary pro tem.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 20, 1918.

The Executive Committee met in called session at the office of Chas. W. Moores.

The following persons were duly nominated for membership and elected: Charles E. Rush, Indianapolis, Ind.; F. J. Desmond, Elkhart, Ind.; B. F. Long, Logansport, Ind.; Ben C. Rees, LaPorte, Ind.; W. H. Snyder, Brooklyn, N. Y.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Dec. 26, 1918.

The Executive Committee met in called session. The following persons applied for membership and were duly elected: Clark Wissler, Cur. Mus. Am. Hist., New York City; Alice D. Goss, Mankato, Minn.; Effie Hiatt Van Tuyl, Leavenworth, Kan.; Carrie Emma Scott, Mooresville, Ind.

The Treasurer was authorized to invest funds on hand, with the consent and approval of the President.

It was decided to contribute to the Indiana Magazine of History as in preceding years.

The Committee then adjourned.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING.

Thursday, Dec. 26, 1918.

The Society met in regular session at the auditorium of the City Library, President Howe in the chair.

The minutes of preceding meetings were read and approved.

President Howe reported on the work of the Society for the past year as follows:

To the Indiana Historical Society:

I respectfully submit the following report of the proceedings of the Society since its last annual meeting, Dec. 27, 1917:

Since that date the deaths of the following regular members have been reported: Charles W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis, Ind.; John Poucher, Orleans, Ind.; Albert Rabb, Indianapolis, Ind.

Also the following resignation: Mrs. William A. Guthrie, Indianapolis, Ind.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Dec. 20, 1918, the following were elected regular members: F. J. Desmond, Elkhart, Ind.; B. F. Long, Logansport, Ind.; Benjamin C. Rees, LaPorte, Ind.; Carrie E. Scott, Mooresville, Ind.; Charles E. Rush, Indianapolis, Ind.

Notice of their election and copies of the last roster of the Society were mailed to each of the newly elected members.

The membership of the Society now consists of:

Regular members	131
Honorary members	8
Total	139

The Treasurer's annual report brings his accounts from Dec. 21, 1917, date of his last preceding report, to Dec. 26, 1918, and shows a balance on hand of \$4,125.00.

Consisting of endowment fund.....	\$3,000.00
Other funds	1,125.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,125.00

Of the endowment funds, there are invested
on mortgage loans\$2,800.00

The endowment funds not invested in mortgage loans are deposited in bank at usual bank interest rates, until a more favorable investment can be secured.

Of the legislative appropriation for the state's fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, 1917, and ending Sept. 30, 1918, there remained in the state treasury at date of last annual meeting the sum of \$57.50, which was afterward applied on a warrant issued Aug. 24, 1915, to C. E. Pauley & Co. in part payment for printing in *Journal of Thomas Dean*.

No part of the legislative appropriation for the state's fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, 1918, and ending Sept. 30, 1919, has yet been drawn.

The only publications issued by the Society since the last regular annual meeting is the *Journal of Thomas Dean: An Account of a Journey to Indiana in 1817*, being pamphlet No. 2, Vol. 6 of the Society's Publications. The total cost of this publication was \$114.40, of which \$57.50 was paid out of the legislative appropriation, as above stated, and the balance out of the funds of the Society. One thousand copies of the pamphlet were printed and after reserving the usual number for the author, the number for the Society, and for exchange, the remaining numbers were deposited with Bobbs-Merrill Co., pursuant to our contract with that company.

Two additional pamphlets are now nearly ready for publication and will possibly be published early next year, one by Mr. George Wilson, entitled "Early Indiana Trails, Traces and Surveys," the other by William Watson Woolen, containing his recollections of some of the early members of the Indianapolis bar. These two pamphlets, it is expected, will complete, or nearly complete, Volume 6 of the Society Publications.

Pursuant to notice from the Governor of Indiana, two reports were filed with him by the President of the Society,

one on Oct. 4, 1918, the other on Nov. 6, 1918. These reports show the organization of the Society, its objects, the revenues, and what has been accomplished. The last report also shows amounts received in last four years of legislative appropriations, and an itemized statement showing how the appropriations have been expended, together with a recommendation by the President that the annual legislative appropriation be increased from three hundred to five hundred dollars.

The Treasurer reports a considerable number of members delinquent in payment of dues, so that I deem it proper to call special attention to the provisions on that subject of Article 7 of the Constitution of the Society.

The Society is under obligation to Professor Charles E. Rush, City Librarian, for his courtesy in allowing this meeting at this place.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL WAIT HOWE.

President.

The Treasurer reported:

On hand, last report	\$4,004.78
Collections	406.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,410.78
Distributions	285.78
	<hr/>
Net assets	\$4,125.00

The report was audited and approved, and, on motion, it was ordered that the Endowment Fund be made \$3,500.

On motion, the Executive Committee was authorized to contribute not to exceed \$200, in its discretion, to the Indiana Magazine of History for the ensuing year.

On motion, the Treasurer was directed to notify Messrs. Esarey and Lindley of the names of members who had not

paid their dues on Jan. 31, 1918, and that such members thereupon be dropped from membership.

On motion, the Treasurer was directed to pay \$2 to the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, as a contribution to the publication of its handbook.

The Executive Committee reported the following newly elected members: Charles E. Rush, Indianapolis, Ind.; F. J. Desmond, Elkhart, Ind.; B. F. Long, Logansport, Ind.; Ben C. Rees, Logansport, Ind.; Carrie Emma Scott, Mooresville, Ind.; W. H. Snyder, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Clark Wissler, Curator, Mus. Am. Hist., New York City; Alice D. Goss, Mankato, Minn.; Effie Hiatt Van Tuyl, Leavenworth, Kan.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President.....	Judge D. W. Howe
First Vice-President.....	Chas. W. Moores
Second Vice-President.....	Capt. W. E. English
Third Vice-President.....	Prof. J. A. Woodburn
Treasurer.....	Chas. E. Coffin
Recording Secretary.....	J. P. Dunn
Corresponding Secretary.....	Prof. C. B. Coleman
Executive Committee:	John H. Holliday, Charles
	Martindale, Eliza G. Browning, Mrs. Frank Athon
	Morrison, Prof. Logan Esarey.

On motion of Professor Coleman:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Society, it is the duty of the General Assembly to make adequate provision for preserving the history of the State in the late European war, under the direction of the State Historical Commission.

On motion of Professor Coleman:

Resolved, That a committee of five, with J. H. Holliday as chairman, be appointed to co-operate with any other committees that may be appointed, to prepare for the celebration of the centennial of the settlement of the City of Indianapolis.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

CONTENTS OF VOL. I

- No. 1. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, 1830-1886.
- No. 2. NORTHWEST TERRITORY.
Letter of Nathan Dane concerning the Ordinance of 1787.
Governor Patrick Henry's Secret Letter of Instruction to
George Rogers Clark.
- No. 3. THE USES OF HISTORY. By President Andrew Wylie, D. D.
- No. 4. THE NATIONAL DECLINE OF THE MIAMI INDIANS. By John B. Dillon.
- No. 5. EARLY HISTORY OF INDIANAPOLIS AND CENTRAL INDIANA. By Nathaniel Belton.
- No. 6. JOSEPH G. MARSHALL. By Prof. John L. Campbell.
- No. 7. JUDGE JOHN LAW. By Charles Denby.
- No. 8. ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDIANA. By Prof. E. T. Cox.
- No. 9. THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE MIAMI COUNTRY. By Dr. Ezra Ferris.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II

- No. 1. THE LAWS AND COURTS OF NORTHWEST AND INDIANA TERRITORIES.
By Daniel Wait Howe.
- No. 2. THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JOHN B. DILLON. By Gen. John Coburn and Judge Horace P. Biddle.
- No. 3. THE ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA. By Judge Thomas M. Cooley.
- No. 4. LOUGHERY'S DEFEAT AND PIGEON ROOST MASSACRE. By Charles Martindale.
- No. 5. A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE TERRITORY AND STATE OF INDIANA FROM 1800 TO 1890. By Daniel Wait Howe.
- No. 6. THE RANK OF CHARLES OSBORN AS AN ANTI-SLAVERY PIONEER. By George W. Jullian.
- No. 7. THE MAN IN HISTORY. By John Clark Ridpath.
- No. 8. OUIATANON. By Oscar J. Craig.
- No. 9. REMINISCENCES OF A JOURNEY TO INDIANAPOLIS IN 1836. By C. P. Ferguson.
- No. 10. "OLD SETTLERS." By Robert P. Duncan.
LIFE OF ZIBA FOOTE. By Samuel Morrison.
- No. 11. FRENCH SETTLEMENTS ON THE WABASH. By Jacob Platt Dunn.
- No. 12. SLAVERY PETITIONS AND PAPERS. By Jacob Platt Dunn.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III

- No. 1. A HISTORY OF EARLY INDIANAPOLIS MASONRY AND OF CENTER LODGE. By Will E. English.
- No. 2. SIEUR DE VINCENNES, THE FOUNDER OF INDIANA'S OLDEST TOWN.
By Edmond Mallet.
- No. 3. THE EXECUTIVE JOURNAL OF INDIANA TERRITORY. Edited and annotated by William Wesley Woolen, Daniel Wait Howe, and Jacob Platt Dunn.
- No. 4. THE MISSION TO THE OTTAWACHE. By Jacob Platt Dunn, pp. 78.
- No. 5. FIFTY YEARS IN PHARMACY. By George W. Sloan, pp. 27.
- No. 6. CALSB MILLS. By Chas. W. Moores, pp. 280.

Indiana Historical Society Publications—Cont.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV

- No. 1. DIARY OF WM. OWEN. Edited by Joel W. Hiatt.
- No. 2. THE WORD "HOOSIER." By Jacob Platt Dunn.
JOHN FINLEY. By Mrs. Sarah A. Wrigley.
- No. 3. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIANA TERRITORY. By Homer J. Webster, A. M., Ph. M.
- No. 4. MAKING A CAPITAL IN THE WILDERNESS. By Daniel Wait Howe.
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- No. 6. SOME ELEMENTS OF INDIANA'S POPULATION; OR ROADS WEST, AND THEIR EARLY TRAVELERS. By W. E. Henry.
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- No. 8. THE SCOTCH-IRISH PRESBYTERIANS IN MONROE COUNTY, INDIANA. By James Albert Woodburn.
- No. 9. INDIANAPOLIS AND THE CIVIL WAR. By John H. Hollday.

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- No. 1. LINCOLN'S BODY GUARD, WITH SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Robert McBride.
- No. 2. INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN EARLY INDIANA. By Logan Esarey.
- No. 3. THE SULTANA DISASTER. By Joseph Taylor Elliott.
- No. 4. AN INDIANA VILLAGE (New Harmony). By John H. Hollday.
- No. 5. THE PIONEERS OF MORGAN COUNTY; MEMOIRS OF NOAH J. MAJOR. Edited by Logan Esarey.
- No. 6. THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF GEN. ROBERT S. FOSTER. By Charles W. Smith.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VI

- No. 1. PROCEEDINGS TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Edited by Prof. Harlow Lindley, 270 pages.
- No. 2. JOURNAL OF THOMAS DEAN; (VOYAGE TO INDIANA IN 1817. Edited by John Candee Dean; annotated by Randle C. Dean; 75 pages.
- No. 3. EARLY INDIANA TRAILS AND SURVEYS. By George R. Wilson; 111 pages.
- No. 4. MINUTES OF THE SOCIETY, 1886-1918. 122 pages.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VII (In Preparation)

- No. 1. SIEUR DE VINCENNES IDENTIFIED. By Pierre-Georges Roy; 130 pages.
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